



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia

October 22, 1965

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 01-30-2012

~~SECRET~~

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS

On October 21, 1965, confidential source one advised that HARRY WACHTEL from New York City advised [redacted] Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) that within the next ten days some legal motions will be filed in connection with the "Gilligan Case." WACHTEL said that he needed a list of the visits made to New York City by Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., President, SCLC. WACHTEL explained that the purpose of this information is to afford him opportunity to show that in connection with the "Gilligan Case" Reverend KING could have been served in New York City. WACHTEL emphasized to [redacted] that he wants the "Gilligan Trial" in New York City and not in the South. WACHTEL also said that he wanted all information regarding speeches Reverend KING has made concerning the "Gilligan Case" at the time of the incident and thereafter.

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WACHTEL also informed [redacted] that the first meeting of the American Foundation on Non-Violence would be held in New York City on November 29, 1965. He also reminded [redacted] that Reverend KING would preach in New York on November 14, 1965 and would stay over in order to attend a Research Committee meeting on November 15, 1965.

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Confidential source two advised on October 21, 1965 that [redacted] advised Reverend KING of WACHTEL's request for information regarding speeches made by Reverend KING in connection with the "Gilligan Case."

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~~GROUP 1~~

~~Excluded from Automatic
Downgrading and Declassification~~

100-153735-1986

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MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.;
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS

Reverend KING instructed to inform WACHTEL that he had made no statements pertaining to this case.

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HARRY WACHTEL

HARRY WACHTEL is the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York, New York. He resides at 29 Split Rock Drive, Kings Point, Long Island, New York.

A confidential source furnished information in December, 1949, that HARRY H. WACHTEL, 41 Broad Street, New York, New York, was on a list of individuals carried as active members of the National Lawyers Guild.

A characterization of the National Lawyers Guild is attached hereto.

On March 5, 1944, a confidential source furnished information which revealed that the name HARRY WACHTEL was on a list of names, significance not known, which was maintained at the Headquarters of the Kings County Communist Party at 26 Court Street, Brooklyn, New York.

Regarding HARRY WACHTEL's wife, LEONORA, it is noted that the same confidential source furnished information on March 5, 1944, which revealed that her name and address were on a list of names of newly elected officers of the Bath Beach Club of the Kings County CP.

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GANDHI SOCIETY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

The Gandhi Society for Human Rights was formed for the purpose of developing a philosophy and technique of non-violent civil rights protests. It is a non-action organization and makes no attempt to influence legislation nor participate in demonstrations. The Society furnishes legal assistance in certain civil rights cases. The organization was incorporated June 14, 1962.

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THE NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," advised and published as of January 2, 1957, to supersede Guide published on May 14, 1951, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following information concerning "The National Lawyers Guild:"

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149).

2. Cited as a Communist front which "is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations and controlled unions" and which "since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents." (Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally released September 17, 1950.)

3. "To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the *** National Lawyers' Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection."

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91).

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia
October 22, 1965

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

FD 323

Title	MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Character	SECURITY MATTER - C
Reference	Letterhead Memorandum, dated and captioned as above, at Atlanta, Georgia.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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FBI

Date: 10/22/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, ATLANTA
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SM - C
Atlanta file 100-5586
Bureau file 100-106670
✓ CIRM
Atlanta file 100-6670
Bureau file 100-442529

100-151548
100-153735

Enclosed for the Bureau is the original and 8 copies and for New York 3 copies of LHM.

Sources referred to in the enclosed LHM are as follows:

Source #1 AT 1383-S*
Source #2 AT 1380-S*

Sources utilized to characterize WACHTEL are Anonymous source of WFO set out in report of SA [redacted] 7/19/50 at WFO re: "NLG; IS-C," and NY 1190-S*.

AT 1380-S* advised that on 10/21/65 KING contacted [redacted] telephonically from Paris, France.

- 4 - Bureau (3 - 100-106670) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)(Enc. 9) (RM)
(1 - 100-442529) (CIRM)
- 3 - New York (Enc. 3) (RM)
- 4 - Atlanta (1 - 100-5586) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
(1 - 100-6670) (CIRM)
(1 - 100-6670A)
(1 - 157-565) [redacted]

AGS:cmp
(11)

100-153735-1987

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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FBI - NEW YORK	

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Approved: JKP cmp
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

AT 100-5586

AGS:cmp

If the information from AT 1383-S* and AT 1380-S* is utilized for lead purposes, care should be taken not to jeopardize the source.

The enclosed LHM has been classified ~~Secret~~ because it contains information from a highly sensitive source with respect to the racial situation in the Atlanta area. It is felt this classification is necessary in order not to jeopardize the valuable position of the informant in furnishing information of this nature.

XERO COPY

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7/12/5/17

5/13

DIRECTOR, FBI

4/29/65

SAC, NEW YORK (100-154549) (41) (P)

COMMITTEE ON UNITED STATES-USSR
PEACE LEADERSHIP EXCHANGE
IS-C
(OO: ~~NEW YORK~~)

ReBulet 1/7/65, and NYlet to Director, 2/11/65.

In addition to the information set forth in relet re instant committee, the following additional investigation was conducted re the committee.

On 3/22/65, SA [redacted] observed the premises at 218 East 18th St., NYC. The building occupying this address can be described as a semi-converted brownstone type, 4 story building. A brass plaque on the building identifies it as the "New York Peace Information Center, New York Friends Group, Inc.". The ground floor or basement appears to house offices where desks, files and people can be observed from the street level. It was not possible to determine any activity on the other floors from the outside.

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The records of Consolidated Edison, 4 Irving Place, NYC, were checked on 2/9/65 by SA FRANK J. ILLIG, Jr. Mr. [redacted] of that organization advised that there is only 1 account for 218 East 18th St., namely "New York Friends Group, Inc."

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SA WALTER ZINK on 2/5/65, advised that the records of the Peter Cooper Station, US Post Office, NYC, the branch post office servicing 218 East 18th Street, reflected that PO Box 401 was listed to the American Friends Service Committee In Turn Toward Peace (TTP), 218 East 18th Street, NYC. Among the names listed as having access to the PO Box was [redacted] and [redacted]. No other group uses this box and the PO has no record of captioned committee.

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- 2- Bureau (RM)
- 2- Washington Field (RM)
- ① New York (100-89211) [redacted] (344)
- 1- New York (100-147087) (TTP) (43)
- 1- New York

RFM:gr
(7)

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100-153735-1988

~~100-89211-123~~

NY 100-154549)

The Manhattan Address Telephone Directory lists the following telephones at 218 East 18th Street, NYC:

<u>Telephone Number</u>	<u>Listing</u>
CA 8-2470	New York Friends Group, Inc.
CA 8-3860	Peace Information Center
GR 5-0850	Turn Toward Peace

[redacted] NY Telephone Company, NYC, advised SA JAMES M. ANDERSON on 2/4/65, that CA 8-2470 and CA 8-3860 were both subscribed to by the New York Friends Group, Inc., 218 East 18th Street, NYC.

GR 5-0850 is subscribed to by TTP, same address, 4th floor. [redacted] TTP was listed as [redacted] NYC.

On 2/17/65, [redacted] Security Officer, US Mission to the UN, advised SA [redacted] that captioned committee was unknown to him.

CSNY on 1/28/65 advised IC [redacted] that they had no record of captioned committee and/or TTP.

The files of the Bureau of Special Services, NYCPD, were checked on 3/14/65 by SA AUGUST J. MICEK re captioned committee; TTP and/or [redacted], with negative results.

On 1/27/65, SA RAYMOND F. MOHR checked the records of the NY County Clerk's Office re TTP. These records disclosed that NYS Certificate of Incorporation Number 332812 was issued to TTP in 1962. The purposes of this organization as set forth on certificate were as follows:

NY 100-154549

"Conduct joint national effort through individual members holding leading positions in national peace, church, labor and public affairs organizations; to suggest and build support for alternatives to the threat of war as a capital thrust of American foreign policy, alternatives which are not based on willingness to surrender either freedom or democratic values".

It is a non-profit organization.

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The New York County Clerk's records also disclosed a Certificate of Incorporation for the New York Friends Group, Inc. This was also listed as a non-profit organization. Its purposes in the main were stated to be to hold, sell, lease property and invest the proceeds. Take by grant, gift or transfer monies to religious, charitable, scientific or literary purposes in accordance with the ideals of the "Society of Friends" (Quakers). Territory and operations principally in the US.

"The New York Times" a daily NYC newspaper, in its edition of 4/22/62, page 2, contained the following information re TTP.

"....Leaders of Turn Toward Peace, a group of (29) peace and pacifist organizations yesterday staged demonstrations that drew thousands of adherents opposed to nuclear testing. 'Easter Walk' protests were held at United Nations Headquarters here and elsewhere in the Nation.."

NY 100-154549

"Turn Toward Peace-the largest single force in the peace-pacifist movement, has NORMAN THOMAS, former head of the American Socialist Party as its head, and ROBERT W. GILMORE, one-time NY Peace Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, as its Executive Secretary..."

A TTP throwaway lists a group of proposals for the establishment of world government controlled by the United Nations. Among the 50 proposals listed on the throwaway for the US were:

"31. Establish a U.S. financed program to bring up to 5000 Russians to America for vacations each year, and give them complete freedom of movement.

"32. Hire up to 1000 Russian educators to teach in American universities each year."

[redacted] is the subject of Bufile 105-32089, NYfile 105-8921. He is [redacted] TTP and former [redacted] the American Friends Service Committee.

Bulet dated 4/8/55 advised that extensive investigation of [redacted] was not desirable, particularly in view of his employment with the American Friends Service Committee.

Confidential informants familiar with certain CP activities in the NYC area contacted during January, February and March, 1965, were unable to furnish any information re captioned committee.

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NY 100-154549

Recommendation re captioned committee per 87E, II of I, is not being made at this time pending further investigation of captioned committee by WFO.

LEAD:

WASHINGTON FIELD

AT WASHINGTON, D.C. NYlet to Bureau and WFO dated 2/11/65 set forth leads for WFO in this matter. WFO is requested to expedite handling of these leads.

10/26/65

AIRTEL

REGISTERED

TO : SAC, ATLANTA
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-149194)
 SUBJECT: GIRM
 ATLANTA FILE 100-6670
 BUREAU FILE 100-442529

COMINFIL OF DCLC
 IS-C
 ATLANTA FILE 100-5718
 BUREAU FILE 100-438794

Re Atlanta airtel to Bureau 10/1/65; Chicago airtel to Bureau 10/14/65, and New York letter to Bureau 4/29/65, captioned "COMMITTEE ON UNITED STATES-USSR PEACE LEADERSHIP EXCHANGE, IS-C, OO: NY."

Referenced Atlanta airtel requested results of indices check regarding Mr. and Mrs. [redacted] New York City, telephone #GR 5-0850.

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Enclosed for information of Atlanta and Chicago is a Xerox copy of referenced New York letter to Bureau. This letter provides a summary of available information in New York files on [redacted]

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- 3 - Atlanta (Enc. 3) (RM)
 - (2-100-6670)
 - (1-100-5718)
- 2 - Chicago (Enc. 2) (RM)
 - (1-105-16233)
 - (1-100-53356) (H. L. KING)
- ① - NY 100-153735 (GIRM) (42)
- 1 - NY 105-8921 [redacted] (344)
- 1 - NY 100-149194 (41)

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HPB:mab
 (9)

100-153735-1989

Seaton
 [Handwritten signature and initials]

NY 100-149194

For further information of Atlanta and Chicago, investigation of Committee on United States-USSR Leadership Exchange was terminated when a letter from [redacted] to Department of State, dated 4/23/65, indicated the Soviet Peace Committee had postponed the proposed visit of their delegation to the United States.

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New York files indicate [redacted] wife as [redacted] however, no subversive information is contained re his wife.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
October 26, 1965

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 01-30-2012

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COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On October 8, 1965, a confidential source advised that as of August 9, 1965 a financial report of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was prepared by [redacted] Certified Public Accountant, Atlanta, Georgia. This report pertained to the period September 1, 1964 to June 30, 1965. It was prepared for the 9th Annual Convention of SCLC held August 9 through August 13, 1965 in Birmingham, Alabama.

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Source made available a copy of this report. Under the caption "Accounting for Cash" the following data was set forth.

"Balance Per Audit		\$ 25,683.91
"Add: Cash Received	\$1,562,478.25	
Deposits, Not Recorded, Foreign Contributions and Etc.	<u>13,692.82</u>	
		<u>1,576,171.07</u>
"Total Cash Available for Ten Month Period		\$1,601,854.98
"Less: Cash Payments-		
Schedule 1	\$1,429,787.27	
Checks Given by Donors Returned		
By Bank - "NSF"	19,062.59	
Net Adjustments-		
Bookkeeping Errors	797.39	
Bank Charges and Exchanges	<u>520.98</u>	
		<u>1,450,168.23</u>
"Cash Balance, June 30, 1965		\$ 151,686.75

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GROUP 1

~~Excluded from Automatic
Downgrading and Declassification~~

SEARCHED _____	INDEXED _____
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OCT 27 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

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COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

Under the caption "Schedule of Cash Payments - -
Schedule 1" the following data was set forth.

"Field Service and Travel	\$	64,001.48
"Voter Registration Expense		71,330.48
"General Aid to Affiliates		49,272.22
"Legal Defense		5,453.36
"Appeal Letter Costs		82,616.29
"Appeal Letter Postage		38,340.55
"Special Promotions		3,669.67
"Administrative Air Travel		53,182.78
"Administrative Meals and Lodging		20,134.67
"Exchange Checks		21,102.58
"Administrative Automobile Rental		8,302.66
"Board Meetings Costs		22,747.24
"Peace Prize Costs		15,333.67
"Office Supplies		32,911.41
"Administrative Postage		21,197.92
"Printing		28,654.13
"Telephone		55,417.93
"Telegraph		5,953.47
"Montgomery March		22,028.89
"Other Marches		1,407.97
"Fund Raising		6,022.47
"Accounting and Auditing		1,250.00
"Tuition and Scholarships		2,152.89
"Rent Expense and Janitorial Supplies and Services		9,843.62
"Repairs and Maintenance-Buildings		7,897.93
"Repairs and Maintenance-Office Equipment		3,754.82
"Rental of Office Equipment		13,046.71
"Book Selling Expenses		2,729.69
"Group Insurance Expense		448.71
"Burned Churches-Georgia		21,454.95

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COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

"Scope	\$ 167,192.73
"Penalties and Interest on Taxes	118.42
"Publicity	8,728.06
"Educational Materials	2,221.68
"Subscriptions News Media	407.38
"Operation Dialogue	5,383.03
"Operation Breadbasket	7,488.07
"Direct Action	9,076.67
"Other	100.30
"Sundry Payments--See Schedule 2	537,427.75
	<hr/>
"TOTAL CASH PAYMENTS	<u>\$ 1,429,787.27"</u>

The following data was included under the caption
"Analysis of Sundries - - Schedule 2."

"Auto Repairs	\$ 199.02
"Petty Cash	656.00
"Property Damages	7,000.00
"Payroll Transfers--Chase Manhattan Bank	211,363.96
"Loans to Affiliates	12,188.12
"Office Expenses	700.00
"Office Furniture, Machinery and Equipment	2,437.03
"Power--Georgia Power Company	179.53
"Investments Appropriated for Legal Defense and Education	260,166.00
"Accounts Payable--Office Machines	3,619.05
"Jackson and Luizzo Fund	5,119.12
"Membership--M. I. A.	21.50
"Entertainment Expenses	673.45
"Bail Bonds	6,516.50
"Other	610.77
"Tuition and Scholarships	1,136.89
"Bombed Churches--South Georgia	523.38
"Book Purchases and Selling Expenses	3,251.83

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COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

"Stipends	\$	780.00
"Auditing and Accounting		2,112.50
"Taxes Payroll		9,919.29
"Group Insurance Premiums		1,100.00
"Cash--Political Action Projects		1,500.00
"Share Loan Payment		4,000.00
"Miscellaneous		1,653.81
		<hr/>
<u>"TOTAL CASH PAYMENTS--SUNDRIES</u>	\$	<u>537,427.75"</u>

Source advised that at the 9th Annual SCLC Convention, a financial committee was formed. This committee was composed of the following individuals. CHAUNCEY ESKRIDGE, an attorney from Chicago, Illinois; Judge BENJAMIN HOOKS from Memphis, Tennessee; SAM WILLIAMS, Department of Philosophy, Atlanta University; HENRY ARRINGTON from Miami, Florida; STANLEY LEVISON, BAYARD RUSTIN and HARRY WACHTEL from New York City; LILLIAN HUNTER and JAMES HARRISON of the SCLC Finance Office, Atlanta.

This committee was chaired by Judge HOOKS. Of the aforementioned members, HOOKS, LEVISON, WILLIAMS and WACHTEL participated more actively in functions of the committee than the other members.

During the convention, the finance committee utilized [redacted] financial report and prepared working papers which served as a basis for a financial report delivered from the convention floor on August 13, 1965 by Reverend RALPH D. ABERNATHY, Vice President and Treasurer, SCLC.

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COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

Source made available a copy of the report which ABERNATHY made on August 13, 1965. Part of this report read as follows.

"Before detailing the figures, there is another fact in which we also take pride. With the funds put at our disposal, we put a small army of workers in the field. At this time we have 400 full-time people on our staff across the South. Approximately 75 percent of that number are subsistence workers who are paid \$25 per week or less. The remainder of our employees average less than \$4,000 per year. The salary scale does not reflect upon their earning abilities but reflects, rather, their dedication to the movement. We have only a single employee who earns as much as \$8,000. Our president, whose energetic labors are legendary receives \$1 per year."

ABERNATHY's report, under the caption "Summary", set forth the following data.

"Balance Brought Forward from August 31, 1964		\$ 25,683.91
"ADD: Cash Received		<u>1,576,171.07</u>
"TOTAL Cash Available		\$1,601,854.98
"LESS: Cash Payments \$1,429,787.27		
Checks		
: returned NSF	19,062.59	
Miscellaneous		
Bank Charges	1,318.37	
		<u>\$1,450,168.23</u>
"CASH BALANCE AS OF JUNE 30, 1965		\$ 151,686.75"

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COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

Under the caption "Schedule of Cash Payments, September 1, 1964 to June 30, 1965" ABERNATHY reported the following.

"DIRECT PROGRAMMIC ACTION		\$ 804,960.57
"Voter Registration and SCOPE	\$333,744.89	
"Direct Action, Marches, Etc.	115,594.16	
"Aid to Affiliates	61,481.84	
"Operation Dialogue	5,383.03	
"Allocation for Future Voter Registration and Education Projects	281,268.58	
"Operation Breadbasket	7,488.07	
"FUND RAISING AND SPECIAL PROMOTION:		130,648.98
"OPERATIONAL COSTS:		450,518.44
"Salaries	244,363.96	
"Rent Expense, Maintenance of Buildings, Repairs and expansion of office space	17,921.10	
"Repairs and Maintenance of Office Equipment	3,754.82	
"Office Equipment	19,102.79	
"Postage	21,197.92	
"Telephone and Telegraph	6,371.40	
"Printing	28,654.13	
"Office Supplies	33,611.41	
"Travel	28,154.28	
"Convention and Workshops	23,420.69	
"Payroll Taxes	9,919.29	
"Group Insurance Premium	1,548.71	
"Accounting and Auditing	3,362.50	
"Public Relations, News Letter, Etc.	9,135.44	

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COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

"SUNDRY ITEMS	\$ 43,659.28
"Retransmittal of Funds for Burned Churches, Jackson - Luizzo Funds	\$ 27,097.45
"Handling Expenses--Books for Resale	5,981.52
"Tuition and Scholarship	3,289.78
"Petty Cash	656.00
"Repayment of Loan	4,000.00
"Miscellaneous	2,634.53
"TOTAL CASH PAYMENTS	<u>\$1,429,787.27 "</u>

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STANLEY LEVISON

A confidential source advised in April, 1964, that STANLEY LEVISON was a secret member of the Communist Party (CP), USA, in July, 1963. In late 1963, and early 1964, he criticized the CP for not being sufficiently militant in the civil rights struggle. LEVISON was described by certain CP leaders as being to the "left" of the CP in his position in civil rights. LEVISON's differences with the CP, however, are merely tactical and he continues his ideological adherence to Communism.

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BAYARD RUSTIN

In "The Saturday Evening Post," issue of July 11-18, 1964, page 76, BAYARD RUSTIN is the subject of a feature article captioned: "The Lone Wolf of Civil Rights." In it, RUSTIN is said to have come to New York in 1938, as an organizer for the Young Communist League (YCL), and as such, he had the job of recruiting students for the "Party." Furthermore, the article reports that during his first years in New York, RUSTIN gave most of his earnings to the "Party." He reportedly left the "Party" in 1941, the article states.

The YCL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "Daily Worker," February 11, 1957, page 1, column 2, reported that BAYARD RUSTIN, Executive Secretary, War Resisters League, was an observer at the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, United States of America, (CP, USA) held in New York City on February 9-12, 1957.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist publication until it ceased publication on January 13, 1958.

A confidential source advised on September 25, 1963, that during a meeting of the National Board, CP, USA, on that date, BENJAMIN J. DAVIS remarked that, "Rustin calls me constantly--openly."

A confidential source advised on February 19, 1964, that BAYARD RUSTIN contacted BENJAMIN J. DAVIS on those dates and sought his advice as to how he could escape from a speaking engagement to which he was committed. On the latter contact, DAVIS told RUSTIN that he was working on his request and had contacted friends who had contacts with the group to which RUSTIN was to speak.

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BENJAMIN J. DAVIS

A confidential source advised on January 21, 1964, that as of that date, BENJAMIN J. DAVIS was National Secretary of the CP, USA.

"The New York Times," August 24, 1964, page 27, column 4, reports that BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, National Secretary, CP, USA, died in New York City on the night of August 22, 1964.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia
October 26, 1965

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

FD 323

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Letterhead Memorandum, dated and captioned as above, at Atlanta, Georgia

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FBI

Date: 10/26/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-438794)
FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-5718)
RE: COMINFIL OF SCLC
IS - C

Enclosed for the Bureau is the original and 7 copies and for New York 4 copies of LHM.

Source referred to in the enclosed LHM is

[Redacted]

Source utilized to characterize LEVISON is NY 694-S*. Sources utilized to characterize RUSTIN are NY 2359-S* and NY 4212-S*. Source utilized to characterize DAVIS is [Redacted] Sources utilized to characterize WACHTEL are NY 1190-S* and an anonymous source of WFO set out in report of SA [Redacted] 7/19/50 at WFO re: "NLG; IS-C."

The documents referred to in the enclosed LHM were made available by informant to SA [Redacted] and autostatic copies were prepared on that date and the original material returned to informant. These autostatic copies are retained as exhibits to Atlanta file 100-5718 re captioned matter.

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)
- 3 - New York (Enc. 4) (RM)
- 3 - Atlanta (1 - 100-5718)
 - (1 - [Redacted])
 - (1 - 157-257) (RALPH ABERNATHY)

AGS:cmp
(10)

① 100-153735

100-153735-1991

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
OCT 27 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

102

Approved: JKP CSH Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

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b7D

b6
b7C

b7D

AT 100-5718
AGS:cmp

Dissemination of information furnished by should be classified Confidential because this informant is in a sensitive position regarding the racial situation in Atlanta and dissemination of such information to unauthorized persons could reasonably jeopardize the security of this informant.

b7D

The enclosed LHM is classified ~~Secret~~ in view of information from NY 4092-S*, NY 5182-S* and NY 694-S* utilized to characterize STANLEY LEVISON and HARRY WACHTEL, which sources are highly sensitive sources engaged in furnishing information about racial matters in the United States and Communist influence therein.

October 26, 1965

AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)
FROM: SAC, BALTIMORE (100-23443) (RUC)
SUBJECT: CIRM
IS - C

Re Bureau airtel to Baltimore dated October 20, 1965,
and Philadelphia airtel to the Bureau dated October 21, 1965.

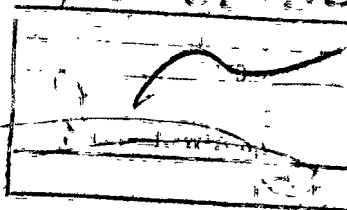
On October 25, 1965, photographs of Mrs. [redacted]
[redacted] (PN 100-456761 A1, 2), were shown to [redacted] by
SA ROBERT C. WORTON. The informant advised that the photographs
were identical with a Negro female who was present at the CP,
USA National Negro Commission meeting held October 7, 1965, at
New York, New York.

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b7D

- 3 - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)
- 2 - New York (100-153735) (REGISTERED MAIL)
- 2 - Philadelphia (100-47672)
(1 - 100-45676 - Mrs. [redacted])
- 2 - Baltimore (REGISTERED MAIL)
(1 - 100-23443)
(1 - [redacted])

b6
b7C
b7D

RCH:kss
(9)





In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia
October 27, 1965

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 01-30-2012

~~SECRET~~

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On October 18, 1965, confidential source one advised the payroll of Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) is prepared on the 15th day and last day of each month. The payroll is prepared by the SCLC Finance Office. The semi-monthly payroll does not include the names of SCLC subsistence workers.

The SCLC payroll amounts to approximately \$11,000 per pay period. The payroll account of SCLC is maintained by the Chase Manhattan Bank of New York.

As of the October 15, 1965 payroll, many SCLC employees were granted increases in annual salary.

Source made available a rough draft copy of the SCLC payroll list prepared by the Finance Office as of October 15, 1965.

It was observed this list reflected the names of 79 employees. Also reflected in most instances was the former annual salary, amount of increase and new annual salary. This payroll list reflected the following data.

<u>Name of Employee</u>	<u>Former Annual Salary</u>	<u>Increase</u>	<u>Present Annual Salary</u>
[Redacted]	\$ 2600		\$ 2600
	2600	\$ 200	2800
	3600		3600

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~~SECRET~~

~~GROUP 1~~

~~Excluded from Automatic
Downgrading and Declassification~~

SEARCHED _____ INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED _____ FILED _____

FBI - NEW
[Signature]

100-153735-1993

XERO COPY

XERO COPY

XERO COPY

~~SECRET~~

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

<u>Name of Employee</u>	<u>Former Annual Salary</u>	<u>Increase</u>	<u>Present Annual Salary</u>
	\$ 2600		\$ 2600
	8750	\$ 300	9050
	4500	1800	6300
	6000	500	6500
	4300	250	4550
	3900	100	4000
	7500		7500
	2600	400	2900
	1200	1800	3000
	2800	200	3000
	2800	200	3000
	1200	1200	2400
	4200		4200
	4000	250	4250
	7500		7500
	350		350
	1680	100	1780
	3120		3120
	1200	1800	3000
	---	---	---
	3900	100	4000
	1200	600	1800
	3600		3600
	3800	250	4050
	2880	150	3030
	4123	200	4323
	4304.17	250	4554

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~~SECRET~~

XERO COPY

XERO COPY

XERO COPY

~~SECRET~~

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

<u>Name of Employee</u>	<u>Former Annual Salary</u>	<u>Increase</u>	<u>Present Annual Salary</u>
	\$ 6000	\$ 100	\$ 6100
	3600	400	4000
	4160	340	4500
	4500	200	4700
	2400		2400
	3000	200	3200
	1200	1200	2400
			2400
	3000	600	3600
	3600	150	3750
	3100	100	3200
	3563.28	150	3713
	2600		2600
	7800	250	8050
	1200	1200	2400
			2400
	8000		8000
	4600	250	4850
	3900	250	4150
	3600	200	3800
	2600	200	2800
	2600		2600
	4600	300	4900
	2800	200	3000
	3000		3000
	3800		3800
	2800	400	3200

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~~SECRET~~

XERO COPY

XERO COPY

XERO COPY

~~SECRET~~

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

<u>Name of Employee</u>	<u>Former Annual Salary</u>	<u>Increase</u>	<u>Present Annual Salary</u>
	\$ 350		\$ 350
	3000	\$ 150	3150
	1200		1200
	3000		3000
	3000		3000
	3600		3600
			9000
	6000		6000
	4000	300	4300
	2600	200	2800
	1200		1200
	3600		3600
	3600	300	3900
			3600
	3100	250	3350
	7000	500	7500
	3400	150	3550
	2800	150	2950
	2600	600	3200
	8500	300	8800
3900	100	4000	
10500			

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~~SECRET~~

XERO COPY

XERO COPY

XERO COPY

~~SECRET~~

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE.

It is noted the above figures reflect the total of former annual salaries amounts to \$271,780.45; increases granted total \$19,340.00 and the total of present annual salaries is \$298,920.00.

Source advised that the salary of [redacted] [redacted] SCLC, is actually furnished to SCLC by a church organization, the identity of which was not known to source. The salary of [redacted] [redacted] SCLC Staff Member, is not set forth because as of October 15, 1965 SCLC was negotiating with an outside organization regarding the payment of [redacted] salary. The identity of this organization was not known to source.

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It is noted that SCLC recently published a program entitled "Ninth Annual Convention, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Martin Luther King, Jr., President, August 9-13, 1965, Birmingham, Alabama."

On pages 12, 13 and 14 of this program, the names of SCLC executive and general staff members are set forth. The program indicates two of the persons named are located in Washington, D. C., two in New York City and one in Virginia. A comparison of these names and those appearing on the aforementioned payroll list with information furnished from time to time in the past by confidential source two indicates that 62 individuals are employed by SCLC headquarters in Atlanta.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION.

Atlanta, Georgia
October 27, 1965

FD 323

Title COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference Letterhead Memorandum, dated and
captioned as above, at Atlanta,
Georgia.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FBI

Date: 10/27/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-438794)
FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-5718)
RE: COMINFIL OF SCLC
IS - C

Index
Pg 1, 2, 3, 4

Enclosed for the Bureau is the original and 7 copies and for New York 2 copies of LHM.

Confidential source one referred to in the enclosed LHM is [redacted] who furnished the material set forth to SA [redacted] on 10/18/65. Two autostatic copies were prepared of the material furnished by informant and these copies have been submitted as exhibits to captioned Atlanta file. The material furnished by informant was returned to him on 10/18/65.

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Confidential source two utilized in the enclosed LHM represents AT 1380-S* and other currently highly sensitive sources of Atlanta which sources were grouped under this designation in the LHM to facilitate the comparison set forth therein.

The convention program of SCLC referred to in the enclosed LHM was furnished Atlanta by Bureau 0-7 dated 10/25/65.

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)
- 2 - New York (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (1 - 100-5718)
- (1 - [redacted])

AGS:cmp
(7)

100-153735

100-153735-1994

100-149194

SEARCHED _____ INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED _____ FILED _____

100-153735

JK

b7D

Approved: *JKP* Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

AT 100-5718
AGS:cmp

Dissemination of information furnished by [redacted] should be afforded a confidential classification because this informant is in a sensitive position, the security of which could be reasonably jeopardized by dissemination to unauthorized individuals.

The enclosed LHM is classified ~~Secret~~ because combined with the information from [redacted] it refers to information furnished from time to time by AT 1380-S* and other highly sensitive sources with respect to the racial situation in the Atlanta area.



*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

215 U. S. Post Office Building
P. O. Box 1111
Little Rock, Arkansas, 72203
October 27, 1965

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC).
Character	MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION
Reference	Little Rock letterhead memorandum dated October 27, 1965

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Q

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

215 U. S. Post Office Building
P. O. Box 1111
Little Rock, Arkansas, 72203
October 27, 1965

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE (SNCC)
MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION

On June 29, 1965, [redacted] advised that he is currently a volunteer worker for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) at Pine Bluff, Arkansas. He advised that his last employment was that [redacted] NE, Washington, D. C.

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The name of [redacted] NE, Washington, D. C., was contained on a list believed to contain the names of participants in the conference held in the period May 29-30, 1965, in Washington, D. C., to organize a coalition of force of the militant element in the civil rights movement.

b6
b7C

(LR T-1, 6/6/65)

100-153735-1995

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
OCT 29 1965	
NEW YORK	

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

FBI

Date: 10/27/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439190)

FROM: SAC, LITTLE ROCK (100-3506) P

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT
NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
(SNCC)
IS - C
OO: Atlanta
Bufile 100-439190

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL
MATTERS
IS - C
OO: New York
Bufile 100-442529

Re Little Rock airtel to Cincinnati dated 7/9/65 and
WFO letter to Little Rock dated 10/21/65.

Enclosed to the Bureau are 12 copies of a letterhead
memorandum captioned "COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-
VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC), MISCELLANEOUS
INFORMATION," dated 10/27/65.

Enclosed to Atlanta are 2 copies of this LHM as office
of origin in the COMINFIL SNCC case, and enclosed to New York
are 2 copies of this LHM as office of origin in the CIRM case.

- 5 - Bureau (Enc. 12) (RM)
(3 - 100-439190 COMINFIL SNCC) (2 - 100-442529 CIRM)
- 2 - Atlanta (100-6488 COMINFIL SNCC) (Enc. 2) (RM)
- ② - New York (100-153735 CIRM) (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 5 - Little Rock (2 - 100-3506) (2 - 100-3564) (1 - 100-3600)

EFM/jew
(14)

100-153735-1996

INDEXED	FILED
SERIALIZED	
OCT 29 1965	
NEW YORK	

[Handwritten signatures and initials over the stamp]

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

LR 100-3506

Copies of this LHM have been furnished locally to INTC, Little Rock, Ark., Secret Service, Little Rock, Ark., OSI, Barksdale AFB, Louisiana, and ONI, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Also attached to the Bureau are 2 copies of FD-376 for appropriate dissemination to U. S. Secret Service, Washington, D. C.

LR T-1 mentioned in attached LHM is [redacted] The original information concerning this is located in Chicago file [redacted]

b7D

Attempts by the Little Rock Office to obtain a suitable characterization of the Coalition of Militant Negro Radicals has been negative.

The enclosed LHM is classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" inasmuch as it contains information from [redacted] and any disclosure of the information would immediately identify the informant as the source and hamper his future effectiveness.

b7D



SECRET
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Bu 100-442529

New York, New York
October 28, 1965

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 01-30-2012

Re: Communist Influence in
Racial Matters
Internal Security - C

On October 26, 1965, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Stanley Levison and Clarence Jones were in contact on that date.

According to the source, Levison told Jones that he spoke to [redacted] Martin Luther King, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, SCLC), who advised that she would send the biographical material on King to him (Levison). Jones then asked Levison to contact [redacted] at ATwater 9-3337 and tell him that "we" were getting the material (the biography of King). Levison inquired of Jones if he had discussed the "Project" with King. Jones, in advising negatively, said, he had not, but said he thought the project would be a good way for King to get his point across.

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As their contact continued, Levison said he recently contacted [redacted] [redacted], who told of the enthusiastic reception King received

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b7C

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~
~~Group 1~~
~~Excluded from automatic~~
~~downgrading and~~
~~declassification~~

100-153735-1997

Serialized _____
Indexed _____
Filed _____

~~SECRET~~

Re: Communist Influence in
Racial Matters
Internal Security - C

in Europe last week. [] said the crowds in Paris were very large, which proved that King has an international following, and, therefore, he (King) has every right to express himself on international questions.

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Levison said he conveyed to [] some of the things "we" had discussed. He said at one point he suggested that "they" (SCLC) should also consider the threat of another March on Washington if he (King) doesn't receive a satisfactory response from the White House or the Administration generally. (Apparently alluded to King's plans for demonstrations for enactment of a Federal statute covering murders of civil rights workers). [] promised to have this considered at the SCLC Board meeting which was then in progress.

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The same source advised on October 26, 1965, that Levison was in contact with [] on that date. Levison informed him that he had some material on King for him which he would send over.

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[] inquired of Levison if King was going to speak in Westchester on the 29th. After Levison replied affirmatively, [] said he would like very much to meet King while he is there. He requested that Levison convey to Jones his desire to see King. [] said he also hoped to get started with King in the next few weeks in Atlanta. Levison said he was sure that King would go for the project.

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~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Re: Communist Influence in
Racial Matters
Internal Security - C

Clarence Jones is the General Counsel
to the Gandhi Society for Human Rights,
15 East 40th Street, New York, New York.

A confidential source, who has furnished
reliable information in the past, advised
on February 26, 1957, that he identified
a photograph of Clarence Jones as a person
whom he knew during late 1953 or early 1954
to be a member of and in a position of leadership
in the Labor Youth League.

The Labor Youth League has been designated
pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Re: Communist Influence in
Racial Matters
Internal Security - C

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised in April, 1964, that Stanley Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA), in July, 1963. In late 1963, and early 1964, he criticized the Communist Party (CP) for not being sufficiently militant in the civil rights struggle. Levison was described by certain CP leaders as being to the "left" of the CP in his position on civil rights. Levison's differences with the CP, however, are merely tactical and he continues his ideological adherence to Communism.

~~SECRET~~

~~-4-~~

~~SECRET~~

Re: Communist Influence in
Racial Matters
Internal Security - C

The current Manhattan Telephone Directory
lists [redacted]

[redacted]
Street.

b6
b7C

Mr. [redacted] Superintendent, [redacted]
Street, advised on June 24, 1964, that [redacted]
[redacted] who resides at that address, is
connected with television in the production
of interview shows [redacted]

b6
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[redacted]
[redacted] According to Mr. [redacted]
[redacted]

~~SECRET~~

F B I

Date: October 28, 1965

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)
SUBJECT: CIRM
IS-C
(OO: NY)

~~CLASSIFIED AND
EXTENDED BY 6080 on 12/14/77
REASON FOR EXTENSION
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2 2, 3
DATE OF REVIEW FOR
DECLASSIFICATION~~

Enclosed are ten copies of a letterhead memorandum reporting information from NY 4092-S*, a source close to CLARENCE JONES; two copies are enclosed for the Atlanta Office.

The sources used to characterize individuals mentioned in the letterhead memorandum were as follows:

~~SECRET~~

NY 694-S* STANLEY LEVISON

CLARENCE JONES

[Redacted]
[Redacted]

b6
b7C

- 4-Bureau (100-442529) (Encl. 10) (RM)
- (1-100-106670) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
- 2-Atlanta (100-5586) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (Encl. 2) (RM)
- (1-100-6650) (CIRM)
- 1-NY (100-73250) (CLARENCE JONES) (42)
- 1-NY (100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON) (42)
- 1-NY (105-68204) [Redacted]
- 1-NY (100-136585) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (42)
- 1-NY (100-149194) (SCLC) (41)
- 1-NY (100-153735) (42)

b6
b7C

JMK:rmv
(13)
[Signature]

100-153735-1998

Searched _____
Serialized _____
Indexed _____
Filed _____

[Signatures]

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

The files of the NYO reflect that [redacted] has had contact with numerous Soviet-bloc officials and establishments in the furtherance of his business. According to [redacted] on 6/26/63, conferred with DRAGO VUJICA of the Yugoslav Consulate concerning a [redacted]

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[redacted] advised that [redacted] in the past has had contact with KONSTANTIN G. FEDOSEEV, Senior Advisor for Political Affairs and MIKHAIL K. POLONIK, both located at the SMUN. In conjunction with the above contacts, it appeared that [redacted] was trying to line up an interview with Soviet Ambassador FEDERENKO. ~~SECRET~~

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b7E

On 5/27/63, [redacted] noted that [redacted] had extended to FEDERENKO an invitation to be guest at a luncheon held by a group of businessmen known as "We Believe". The aim of the group is to show its concern for the UN. ~~SECRET~~

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This letterhead memorandum is stamped "~~Secret~~" because it contains information from NY 4092-S*, a source who furnishes highly sensitive information about racial matters in the U.S. and the infiltration thereof; and because the documentation of STANLEY LEVISON contains a concentration of information from NY 694-S*. ~~SECRET~~

In view of the above, the "~~Secret~~" classification is deemed absolutely necessary.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
October 28, 1965

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 01-30-2012

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP
CONFERENCE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On October 15, 1965, a confidential source advised that records of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) contained an undated interoffice memorandum signed "Martin Luther King, Jr." President, SCLC.

Source advised this memorandum was addressed to the SCLC Finance Office and was captioned "Additions to Payroll." The memorandum reads as follows:

"Please add the following persons to the payroll:

"Mr. [redacted] -
Effective Sept, 1 1965 at \$3,600.00
per yr.

"Mr. [redacted] -
Effective Sept 27th at \$7,500.00 per yr.

"Mr. [redacted] -
[redacted] - Effective Sept 17th at
\$9,000.00 per yr."

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Source advised that [redacted] is currently employed at SCLC Headquarters in Atlanta. He stated he believed that [redacted] is employed by SCLC in New York City because a recent SCLC pay check for [redacted] was forwarded to New York. Source advised he did not know the location of [redacted]

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This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL
GROUP 1
EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC
DOWNGRADING AND DECLASSIFICATION 1965~~

100-153735-1999
SEARCHED _____ INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED _____ FILED _____
FBI - NEW YORK



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia
October 28, 1965

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Letterhead memorandum dated and captioned as above at Atlanta, Georgia

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

F B I

Date: 10/28/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-438794)
FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-5718) (P)
RE: COMINFIL OF SCLC
IS - C

Enclosed for the Bureau is the original and 7 copies and for New York 2 copies LHM.

Source referred to in the enclosed LHM is [redacted] who on 10/15/65 furnished SA [redacted] a photostatic copy of the memorandum referred to in enclosed LHM. This memorandum has been submitted as an exhibit to captioned Atlanta file.

b6
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b7D

The enclosed LHM has been classified ~~Confidential~~ because [redacted] occupies a sensitive position with captioned organization and dissemination of information furnished by this source to unauthorized persons could reasonably jeopardize his security.

b7D

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)
- 2 - New York (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 4 - Atlanta
 - (1- 100-5718)
 - (1- [redacted])
 - (1- 157-1342)
 - (1- 100-6828)

100-153735-2000

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
OCT 29 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

V. [signature]

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AGS:cb

(9)
① - 100-153735

Approved: [signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

10/28/65

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

SUBJECT: CIRM

Re Bureau airtel to New York, 10/20/65; Baltimore airtel to Bureau, 10/26/65, Philadelphia airtel to Bureau, 10/22/65.

Upon viewing a photograph of [redacted] furnished by the Philadelphia Office, SAS [redacted] and JOHN C. SEATON identified her as a person observed entering CP Headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, New York City, on 10/7/65. SAS could not identify the photograph of [redacted] as one seen entering CP Headquarters on 10/7/65.

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b7C

- 3 - Bureau (100-442529) (RM)
- 1 - Baltimore (100-23443) (RM)
- 2 - Philadelphia (100-47672) (RM)
- (1 - 100-45676) [redacted]
- ① New York (100-153735) (42)

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JCS:amd
(8)

Handwritten signature/initials

100-153735-2001

Searched _____
 Indexed _____
 Filed _____

Handwritten initials and signatures

File—Serial Charge Out
FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

48-16-83475-1 GPO

File 1- 153735 2003 ⁵₄ Date 5-10
Class. Case No. Last Serial

Pending Closed

Serial No. Description of Serial Date Charged

Serial sent to Bureau, per
Buairtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77,
titled; Bernard S. Lee v.
Clarence M. Kelley, et. al.
BuFile 62-117194d

Section #23
Employee

RECHARGE

Date _____

To _____ From _____

Initials of Clerk { _____

Date { _____

Date Charged

Employee

Location

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
M E M O R A N D U M

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 10/28/65 (U)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS - C
(OO:NY)

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN
IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE
SHOWN OTHERWISE.~~

EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE UTILIZED IN CONNECTION WITH ANY HANDLING OR REPORTING OF THE INFORMATION SET FORTH HEREIN IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED SOURCE. SINCE THE INFORMATION BY ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO IDENTIFY THIS SOURCE, IT SHOULD BE COMPLETELY PARAPHRASED IF FOUND NECESSARY TO BE SET FORTH IN ANY REPORT FOR DISSEMINATION. (U)

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are two copies of an informant's statement dated October 13, 14, and 15, 1965, containing information orally furnished on October 13, 14, and 15, 1965, by CG 5824-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SAs RICHARD W. HANSEN and WALTER A. BOYLE. This information was reduced to writing on October 22, 1965, and the original report is maintained in CGfile A)134-46-9402. (U)

2-Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)

2-Baltimore (RM)

(1 - 100-

(CP, USA - Organization)

(1 - 100-

4-Cleveland (RM)

(1 - 100-

(CP, USA - Organization)

(1 - 65-721

(ANTON KRCHMAREK)

(1 - 100-1207

(PHIL BART)

(1 - 100-

(FNU) (LNU) (white male youth believed to be from Cleveland, who also attended national CP youth meeting in Indiana during early 9/65; observed only 10/11 & 12/65) (U)

WAB:MDW

(see page ii for additional dissemination)

~~CLASSIFIED AND
EXTENDED BY SP4 on 10-22-80
REASON FOR EXTENSION
FCIM, 11 1-2.4.2 2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR
DECLASSIFICATION 10-28-85~~

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100-153735-2002
SEARCHED
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INDEXED
FILED
FBI - NEW YORK
[Handwritten signatures and initials]

CG 100-33741

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Copies: (Con't.)

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- (1 - 100- (CP, USA - Organization)
- (1 - 100-8482 (TOM DENNIS)

2-Los Angeles (RM)

- (1 - 100- (CP, USA - Organization)
- (1 - 100-4486 [redacted])

38-New York (RM)

- (1 - 100-80641 (CP, USA - Organization)
- (1 - 100-89691 (CP, USA - Domestic Administration Issues)
- (1 - 100-86624 (CP, USA - International Relations)
- (1 - 100-80636 (CP, USA - Legislative Matters)
- (1 - 100-80638 (CP, USA - Membership)
- (1 - 100-81675 (CP, USA - Pamphlets and Publications)
- (1 - 100-80864 (CP, USA - Religion)
- (1 - 100-89590 (CP, USA - Strategy in Industry)
- (1 - 100-80644 (CP, USA - Youth Matters)
- (1 - 100-153735 (CIRM)
- (1 - 100-84994 (GUS HALL)
- (1 - 100-9595 (WILLIAM WEINSTONE)
- (1 - 100-56 (MIKE DAVIDOW)
- (1 - 100-13472 (GIL GREEN)
- (1 - 100-32826 (JAMES ALLEN)
- (1 - 100-13483 (BETTY GANNETT)
- (1 - 100-128255 [redacted])
- (1 - 100-13444 (JOE NORTH)
- (1 - 100-84275 (WILLIAM PATTERSON)
- (1 - 100-105078 (HY LUMER)
- (1 - 100-15946 (JIM TORMEY)
- (1 - 100-16021 (ARNOLD JOHNSON)
- (1 - 100- [redacted])
- (1 - 100-25623 (ERIC BERT)
- (1 - 100-27452 (BOB THOMPSON)
- (1 - 100-27539 [redacted])
- (1 - 100-18065 (JACK STACHEL)
- (1 - 100- [redacted])
- (1 - 100-48033 (IRVING POTASH)
- (1 - 100- [redacted])
- (1 - 100- [redacted])
- (1 - 100-141914 [redacted])
- (1 - 100-269 (HENRY WINSTON)
- (1 - 100- (HELEN WINTER)
- (1 - 100- (GEORGE MORRIS)
- (1 - 100-9369 [redacted])

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(see page iii for additional dissemination)

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CG 100-33741

Copies:

38-New York (RM) (Con't.)

(1 - 100- [redacted])
(1 - 100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON))

4-San Francisco (RM)

(1 - 100- (CP; USA - Organization))
(1 - 65-1242 (MICKEY LIMA))
(1 - 61-415 (AL RICHMOND))
(1 - 100- (W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America))

6-Chicago

(1 - A) 134-46-9402)
(1 - 61-867 (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT))
(1 - 100-20289 [redacted])
(1 - 100-3470 (MORRIS CHILDS))
(1 - 100-3313 (JACK KLING))

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October 13, 14, and 15, 1965 ~~(U)~~

During the period October 8-12, 1965, a meeting was held in the Bermuda Room of the Vanderbilt Hotel, 34th Street and Park Avenue, New York City, New York, of the National Board of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) plus a few invited guests. Observed in attendance were the following persons who, unless noted to the contrary, attended all sessions of the meeting:

GUS HALL
MICKEY LIMA
WILL WEINSTONE
MIKE DAVIDOW.....not observed October 8 and 11, 1965

GIL GREEN
ANTON KRCHMAREK
JIM ALLEN
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
BETTY GANNETT
TOM DENNIS.....not observed October 8 and returned to Detroit after session of October 11, 1965

[redacted]
JOE NORTH.....not observed October 12, 1965

BILL PATTERSON.....not observed October 8, 1965

[redacted]

HY LUMER

[redacted]

JIM TORMEY
ARNOLD JOHNSON
PHIL BART

[redacted].....not observed October 8, 1965

ERIC BERT.....not observed October 9 and 11, 1965

BOB THOMPSON
[redacted].....due to illness did not attend October 12, 1965

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JACK STACHEL
AL RICHMOND

[redacted]not observed October
8 and 12, 1965

IRVING POTASH
MORRIS CHILDS

[redacted]not observed October
10, 1965

[redacted]

JACK KLING

[redacted]not observed October
12, 1965

HENRY WINSTON.....departed for Chile
October 9, 1965

HELEN WINTER

GEORGE MORRIS.....not observed October
8 and 11, 1965

[redacted]observed only October
9 and 12, 1965

[redacted]observed only October
9 and 12, 1965

(first name unknown)

(last name unknown).....white male youth believed
to be from Cleveland, Ohio,
who also attended National
CP Youth Meeting in Indiana
during early September, 1965;
observed only October 11 and
12, 1965

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First Session, October 8, 1965

[redacted] ~~(U)~~

The first session of the meeting on October 8, 1965,
was opened by HENRY WINSTON who commented briefly on the im-
portance of the meeting. [redacted] of this session, [redacted]

[redacted] then listed the following agenda:

- 1) Discussion of the draft of the CP, USA program.
- 2) The struggle for peace, the war in Vietnam, and the recent article of Marshal LIN PIAO, Defense Minister of the People's Republic of China.

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- 3) Procedures and timing of preparations for the forthcoming Convention of the CP, USA.

~~S~~ (U)

[] distributed a copy of a draft of the Party program to each person in attendance and stated that all present should read this document carefully and be prepared for a discussion thereof. AL RICHMOND would introduce this document during the October 8, 1965, session and the meeting would then adjourn to give those in attendance an opportunity to study the document. [] also announced that on Saturday, October 9, 1965, GUS HALL would make a report on the second item of the agenda; that is, the struggle for peace and the war in Vietnam. On Sunday, October 10, 1965, they would resume the discussion concerning the Party program. On Monday, October 11, 1965, they would proceed to the discussion of the third item on the agenda; that is, the procedures and timing of Convention preparations and this would continue perhaps through Tuesday, October 12, 1965. [] further announced that in November, 1965, there would be held another meeting of the National Board, CP, USA, to discuss and approve various resolutions to be brought before the Convention. Following these introductory remarks, [] introduced AL RICHMOND, who commented as follows:

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AL RICHMOND

~~S~~ (U)

I would like to make several observations that can make the reading of this program document more useful. This present document is not skimpy but rather has a lot of meat on it, unlike the previous "outline" which was presented. Last July instructions were issued for the preparation of a CP, USA program, but only one of the subcommittees appointed at that time actually functioned and it produced a document on the "New Left." As a result, this program was not ready on September 15th as originally planned but was finally completed not until September 25th. This document is the product of a subcommittee consisting of GUS HALL, GIL GREEN, HY LUMER, JIM JACKSON, and me. This group closeted itself in a room for days and worked on this and put it into shape. There is a section on farmers which will be produced and added to this program later. The section on small business is not yet ready but one will be added later. I think that the section on trade unions and labor is particularly good. This section can have a lasting effect if it is given to unionists to point the way in general and may survive and be applicable even two years from now.

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Although tactical considerations do enter into the making of a Party program, nevertheless, it must be remembered that the main object is strategic--that is, the Party program must have a long range view. ~~S~~ (U)

Subsequent to this introduction by RICHMOND, the meeting adjourned to give those in attendance an opportunity to study the draft program document. ~~S~~ (U)

Second Session, October 9, 1965 ~~S~~ (U)

Chairman - WILLIAM PATTERSON ~~S~~ (U)

The Chairman of the second session, BILL PATTERSON, announced at the outset of the meeting that GUS HALL, the General Secretary of the CP, USA, had celebrated his 55th birthday on the previous day, October 8, 1965. He then introduced GUS HALL who was to deliver a report on the struggle for peace, the war in Vietnam, and the recent article by the Defense Minister of the People's Republic of China. GUS HALL commented, in essence, as follows:

GUS HALL ~~S~~ (U)

I am happy to announce that [redacted] is back from his trip abroad. Also, HENRY WINSTON is going to the CP of Chile Congress. In my opinion, this is an historic occasion--the CP, USA having representation at a Latin American Congress. ~~S~~ (U)

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My remarks today do not really constitute a "report." I made my report to the Legislative Conference sometime ago and the basic projections made at that time still hold true. However, the Secretariat has felt that there is a need to examine a few specific problems which have arisen as a result of happenings in Vietnam. ~~S~~ (U)

The war being waged by U.S. imperialists against the Vietnamese people is now a major military operation. The inch-by-inch bombing is as savage and brutal as the bombing of Hiroshima. The U.S. and their South Vietnamese stooges are waging a policy of genocide. The military build-up has now reached 165,000 troops, but this is only a preliminary stage. The build-up will go beyond 250,000 troops. The long-range significance of the build-up in South Vietnam goes far beyond

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South Vietnam in significance. The U.S. is also preparing a build-up in Thailand and other countries as a base from which to carry on a war against the People's Republic of China. This is the only possible explanation. The nature of the military installations being prepared clearly indicate that they are not only for war against the Vietnamese people, but are also for an occupation army and an army of aggression in Asia. This fact should alarm our people and the peoples of the entire world. This signifies a danger to world peace, a danger to the socialist world, and a danger to the peoples of Asia generally. This does not mean that the U.S. imperialists will succeed because there are many obstacles along the path of aggression. ~~S~~ (U)

Now, I want to deal with a few problems of a political nature. First of all, is it still realistic to force a retreat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, etc.? The answer is yes--this retreat can be forced now. Secondly, is it still a realistic concept that the balance of world forces can force such a retreat and even contain it? This answer is also yes--otherwise, we would have to admit defeat; but this would be a wrong political assessment. Through struggle we can force this retreat of U.S. imperialism. ~~S~~ (U)

Our conclusions must rest upon a political assessment of all the forces and their various interrelations. This must not be merely a counting of noses. A Marxist assessment must be accurate and objective. This assessment cannot be based upon emotional reactions only. I mention these generalities because within our ranks and in the movement around us there are such emotional attitudes. ~~S~~ (U)

An essential question is this; is a purely military victory over U.S. imperialism now, today, realistic? It is my opinion that the world Marxist movement has not faced this question. I believe that a purely military victory is not in the cards today. Such an assessment is, in my opinion, correct. If this is not so, then the alternative is a nuclear war gamble now. Does this mean that U.S. imperialism will win? No--neither is an all-out retreat of anti-imperialist forces in the outlook. But there can be a political-military victory over imperialism. ~~S~~ (U)

In Vietnam we have a classical example of naked aggression, yet the world anti-imperialist forces are not on the offensive. Why have the anti-imperialist forces not been able to mount an offensive, for example, on the question of convening the Geneva Conference? Why haven't Ghana and the other newly-liberated countries been able to use their initiative?

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Why not make use of the UN? Why not use the historic message of Pope Paul VI? Why has there been no use of the inner contradictions of the imperialist forces? ~~S~~ (U)

There is more than one answer and not every one is negative. There is more than one reason. But, all the answers and reasons rest on the wrong premise or assessment that a military victory is possible. This leaves out an appreciation of world-wide public opinion. U.S. imperialism is vulnerable mainly in the political sector and is getting away with murder. Negotiation is a political weapon even if it is used demagogically. What is a convincing answer to those who shout, "We want to negotiate, but the other side doesn't?" The best peace fighters have been nailed to the wall because they cannot answer this. This demonstrates a weakness on the political front on the part of the peace forces. Most anti-colonialist victories have been a mixture of political and military actions and most countries were liberated through the use and intermingling of all methods. This is a difficult question and we must face it even if publicly we have no answer. We have not made the slogan "Negotiations" our current slogan, but unconditional surrender is not the answer. ~~S~~ (U)

The recent "Insurgent" editorial is an example of what happens when negotiation is considered a retreat or defeat. Let me give you a quote from that editorial. It says "There appears to be considerable sentiment within the peace movements here in the U.S. that a means must be found for the State Department to bargain its way out of Vietnam. Such bargaining is referred to as 'negotiations.' We cannot accept this notion. To do so is to give tacit approval to the White House when it orders the bombing of The Democratic Republic of Vietnam." This is what happens when negotiation is considered a retreat or defeat. ~~S~~ (U)

This same editorial also says, "To bargain a solution in this situation would lead the war hawks to believe they could bargain with the lives of people in similar situations wherever the U.S. might interfere in the future. The peace of the world could not be guaranteed by the ending of the war in Vietnam." ~~S~~ (U)

This editorial was written by good comrades who are against negotiation even if the U.S. is bargained out of Vietnam. These same youthful comrades say that the peace movement, if it is to be effective, must go even further and tell the people what they are willing to sacrifice their lives for. This can mean only one thing, that is, even if it means nuclear war, we

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cannot negotiate; they want military victories. I am afraid that the same concepts are prevalent in a good part of the world Marxist movement. We, the CP, USA, still believe that U.S. imperialism can be made to retreat. If we give up this idea of conducting a political, ideological struggle for the retreat of imperialism, then we will have no path at all. We must find the path to call the bluff of U.S. imperialism and put it on the political defensive. ~~X~~ (U)

The key to this problem rests with the people of Vietnam and their Party. If they do not see this, then, of course, we cannot give them the answer. Speaking for myself, I believe that the world's progressive forces are allowing this opportunity to pass by. If there are other reasons for this impasse, then I would like to know what they are. ~~X~~ (U)

I said that not everything is negative and this is true enough. But, what I have said is actually the introduction to a discussion of Marshal LIN PIAO's article (which was not just an "article"). It was also an unscrupulous anti-Soviet slander. The world movement is making a fundamental error when it remains silent in the face of these monstrous lies by the Chinese. I would suggest that a commission be set up before our Convention to suggest ways in which to discuss this problem. We cannot close our eyes to the "weeds" in our neighbor's yard. Later, we may regret our silence if we raise no proposals on how to conduct this. ~~X~~ (U)

Some people argue that the Chinese "do not mean this." Such people are wrong--they do. It is also wrong to say that such statements by the Chinese are meant only for Asia, Africa, and Latin America. This is not so. The Chinese say that these so-called "laws" are universal. Besides, such an argument would be considered an insult to the Chinese, if we say "They don't mean it." The issue is whether this is the only form of struggle anywhere. The issue is whether this is the only form, that is, violence, of struggle against imperialism. We can't be on the political offensive if the only argument is military struggle. ~~X~~ (U)

Marshal LIN's article contains the statement that "It was on the basis of the lessons derived from the people's wars in China that Comrade MAO Tse-tung, using the simplest and the most vivid language, advanced the famous thesis that 'political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.' He clearly pointed out: 'The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issues by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good.

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universally, for China and for all other countries." But, what about the political and ideological consciousness of the masses. This is a Robin Hood concept of politics. Many Parties are now veering away from such a one-sided policy. I am sure that the North Vietnamese and the North Korean Party are now debating this. This article was written in order to stop this breaking away from the Chinese orbit. ~~S~~ (U)

But, the role of the classes is fundamental and this is completely distorted by this article. It makes the peasantry the most important class. Marshal LIN quotes his thesis on the comparison of the cities and the countryside to the "cities" of the U.S. and Western Europe and the "countryside" of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Even the socialist countries are not given any role except as a "reserve." He misses the main contradiction in the world. He makes each country an entity which can win with its own guerrilla forces. The main fire is against U.S. imperialism as only imperialism. ~~S~~ (U)

This article, I am sorry to state, has received some acceptance. The "National Guardian" and the "Monthly Review" are pushing this. I have spoken to many others who have fallen for this Chinese thesis. This thesis of war is comforting to the petty bourgeoisie who have no confidence in the people and who do not participate in any struggle. What they do not understand is that guerrilla warfare is not the essence of this epoch. ~~S~~ (U)

On the thesis that "each country can win for itself," Marshal LIN had this to say: "Vietnam is the most convincing example of a victim of aggression defeating U.S. imperialism by a people's war. The U.S. has made South Vietnam a testing ground for the suppression of people's war. It has carried on this experiment for several years and everybody can now see that the U.S. aggressors are unable to find a way of coping with a people's war. They are deeply worried that their defeat in Vietnam will lead to a chain reaction. They are expanding the war in an attempt to save themselves from defeat. But, the more they expand the war, the greater will be the chain reaction. The more they escalate the war, the heavier will be their fall and the more disastrous their defeat. The people in other parts of the world will see still more clearly that U.S. imperialism can be defeated and that what the Vietnamese people can do, they can do, too. History has proved and will go on proving that the people's war is the most effective weapon against U.S. imperialism and its lackies. All revolutionary people will learn

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to wage a people's war against U.S. imperialism and its lackies. They will take up arms, learn to fight battles, and become skilled in waging a people's war, although they have not done so before. U.S. imperialism like a mad bull dashing from place to place will finally be burned to ashes in the blazing fire of the people's wars it has provoked by its own actions." ~~S~~ (U)

Of course, this thesis would lead to adventurism and it does. It leaves out the stages of struggle, alliances, etc. The forces determining the course of human affairs are many sided and interrelated. Military forces are only a part of this. The policy of peaceful coexistence takes into account all forces in the world, the working class, the liberation movements, etc. New paths to victory over reaction can and do block the unleashing of a third world war, that is, a nuclear war. A political-military victory over imperialism is possible and imperialism must be confronted on all fronts. ~~S~~ (U)

Where does such a thesis as that of Marshal LIN leave the central thesis of peace? The answer is high and dry. Where does it leave peaceful coexistence? The question of peaceful paths? Methods of struggle for socialism? Where is the Marxist concept of class struggle and the relation of classes? What about economic struggles? What about political struggles? What about the socialist world and the advance of civilization? What about the world peace movement? The world Marxist movement must give the answers or it cannot call President JOHNSON's bluff on negotiations. If there is no other way, what is wrong with a Geneva Conference? I can see nothing but good coming out of this. After all, U.S. imperialism has no political leg to stand on in Vietnam. ~~S~~ (U)

Why is the USSR silent in this regard? Why is there no exchange of opinions with other Parties on these questions? U.S. imperialism likes this situation. The comparison that is made between U.S. military power and the military power of the French in 1954 is nonsense. The Chinese say that in 1965 the U.S. is weaker. This mistake was the basis for the military assessment made by the Chinese in regard to Vietnam. Should we not discuss these things with other Parties? ~~S~~ (U)

We can see that the peace movement is no longer growing on the same level as was the case six months ago. There is not as much moral indignation. Even Congressional opposition has been muffled. The trade union activity expected at the Ann Arbor Vietnam Conference did not materialize. Maybe this last was due

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to the fact that the conference was held during the summer. Perhaps, but that is not the real answer. The real reason is that the Johnson Administration has the ability to confuse the issue because of the fact that we have had no answer to this demagogy in regard to negotiations. The appointment of ARTHUR GOLDBERG as Ambassador to the UN was based on the statement that "He will negotiate or find a way." This characterization helped JOHNSON. The real problem has been the inability to put forth the political question involved. We should utilize Pope PAUL's speech and the existing perspectives for the peace movement. In regard to the students' disobedience in relation to the Selective Service Act, refusing to be drafted to fight in Vietnam, etc., this is no substitute for mass struggle. Neither is the burning of draft cards the answer. There must be mass support for these actions. ~~S~~ (U)

Following HALL's report, there was the following discussion of his report:

BOB THOMPSON ~~S~~ (U)

The Vietnamese people are not the obstacle to peace or to the building of the peace movement in the U.S. The U.S. imperialists and their propaganda are to blame. Furthermore, the UN cannot play a role in the situation unless China becomes a part of the UN. ~~S~~ (U)

AL RICHMOND ~~S~~ (U)

I believe that the proposals by GUS HALL are somewhat distorted. GUS talked about a combination of forms of struggle. But, it is not just "peace;" it is peace and liberation. Just to raise the slogan of "peace" would please the Administration of President JOHNSON. ~~S~~ (U)

[REDACTED] ~~S~~ (U)

I would like to make some comments in regard to world Marxist unity and world peace. It appears obvious to me that if there is no split there can be no escalation. In my judgment, we are pulling our punches on peace. GUS HALL is absolutely correct when he states that we must rebuff the Chinese thesis. ~~S~~ (U)

At the recent Congress of the CP of Romania, which I attended, the main report did not deal with world peace and the situation in the world communist movement. It was only after

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representatives of 56 fraternal Parties spoke that a special resolution was passed on this suggestion. This symbolizes a sort of "standing between" the two contending forces of the USSR and the People's Republic of China. We, ourselves, are not absolved. We let ourselves be pushed around at the World Peace Congress in Helsinki, Finland. CARLTON GOODLETT was all right, but some CP members did not speak for the people of the U.S. ~~S~~ (U)

Actually, there are not two left positions in the world; there is only one true left position and that is the Marxist-Leninist position. The others are pseudo-left. ~~S~~ (U)

I recently met with the leaders of the Mongolian Party and some of the members of their youth. I also met three times with their Politburo. I learned that Peking broadcasts daily in the Mongolian language to these people. The Chinese are constantly interfering in Mongolian affairs. Finally, the Chinese withdrew the manpower they had in Mongolia and left many of their mutual projects unfinished. Then, the CP of China stated that if the Mongolians would change their line, than the CP of China would once again help them. Further, the Chinese have made more than 600 raids across their borders into Siberian territory during this year alone. ~~S~~ (U)

Our Party has a role to play in the world situation. We don't have to wait and stand in the middle or fear the consequences of our actions. What we are doing is conducting a campaign for peace, the purpose of which is not to get U.S. imperialism off the hook. ~~S~~ (U)

In my discussions with the leaders of North Vietnam, with whom I met for four days, it was obvious that the Vietnamese do not believe in going down the road to war all the way to the end. There are some differences and they are worried about the fact that the South Vietnamese people are being destroyed. They indicated that the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam is not an unbreakable demand before negotiations although that slogan is used. Such is not the actual intent of the Hanoi leaders. Based upon the information which I have received, it is my opinion that North Vietnam will not press indefinitely for the withdrawal of U.S. troops as a precondition for negotiations. I know that JOHN GOLLAN from the CP of Great Britain has had discussions with leaders of the North Vietnamese Party and he also is convinced that North Vietnam has no desire to escalate the war. I learned also that material destined for use by the fighters of imperialism in South Vietnam often stands on railroad tracks in China for weeks

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and weeks awaiting the Chinese pleasure to move them to Vietnam. ~~S~~ (U)

JAMES ALLEN ~~S~~ (U)

The recent article by Marshal LIN PIAO of the Chinese position is in effect the competitive document to the document of the 81-Party Conference. We must deal with this document on the basis of conditions in our country and upon the basis of our programmatic position. Furthermore, this cannot be handled emotionally if we want to be taken seriously. ~~S~~ (U)

The subject of "negotiations" is a complex problem. If other Parties defer to the wishes of Hanoi on this subject, then we will have to do the same. According to [redacted] Hanoi will insist that they will handle the war themselves. They will not give a pretext for the USSR and China to confront the U.S. in Vietnam. They will do their own fighting short of an invasion by U.S. ground troops. They will do everything to avoid the next step of escalation which can only be nuclear. ~~S~~ (U)

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HY LUMER ~~S~~ (U)

If the line of the CP of China and "The Guardian" is not challenged, it will make inroads ideologically on some people. Our problem is not whether we attack the Chinese--perhaps we, too, are the victim. ~~S~~

GIL GREEN ~~S~~ (U)

The question that must be asked is whether the Vietnamese comrades are making a tactical error in the way in which they present the problem of negotiations. The answer is no and I am opposed to urging compromise on the part of North Vietnamese. But this raises the question of whether this is the main reason why we are facing difficulties in the peace movement. We must take into consideration the effect of the domestic policy of the Administration. The program outlined by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is a four-point program beginning with a return to the conventions of the Geneva Conference of 1954. There also arises the problem with respect to representation of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. It should be noted that we cannot tell the Vietnamese people who are engaged in a war that they must "surrender." Remember, intransigence can lead to war; but capitulation can also lead to war or another Spain. It is not enough to reject the Chinese point of view; we must sharpen our own objectives. The main area of contradiction is the colonial world. Latin America will be liberated by armed struggles because there is no other way. Alongside the slogan of the danger of an imperialist war we must also stress the importance of a correct ideology. ~~S~~ (U)

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In my judgment, the Chinese line in regard to Latin America is disastrous. It is not true as has been said that only Chile will have a peaceful road to communism. That is just not so. The CP of Venezuela wants a democratic peace; the government wants capitulation. In Colombia, too, they are proposing structural reform. Even in Brazil the CP is participating in the elections, etc. This is true also in Argentina.

Following the above discussion, GUS HALL delivered the following summary:

GUS HALL (U)

Because of world differences, work in the world communist movement has been stymied or paralyzed. In the work of our Party we must not hold up our work because of our differences. First of all, questions must be posed in order to find the answers. Comrades among the youth in the Midwest pressed for the answer on how to make these discussions public. I must admit that I don't know the answer.

Does the basic position of China influence the situation regarding Vietnam? Of course it does. We have the problem of how to overcome this. If we have no answers, let's say so. It is a fact that U.S. policy is fakery, or as BOB THOMPSON said, it is a monstrous lie. But this monstrous lie has taken hold of people and we have to combat it and expose it. Fighting imperialism or telling us to fight imperialism is only a delusion. In regard to the slogan "Negotiations," GIL GREEN wasn't, until recently, against the use of the slogan "Negotiations". We never said that this was the main issue but a principled position against negotiations is wrong. That position is different than the question of when and how to use it. There is one power that will avoid negotiations and that is U.S. imperialism. But what will pressure U.S. imperialism to negotiate withdrawal from South Vietnam. GIL GREEN's reason is no good; that is, "domestic policy" or "influences." What of the rest of the world? U.S. imperialism is afraid that in these negotiations the question of "self-determination" will come up. In regard to the Dominican Republic, these people face the same problem. During their revolution the Dominicans combined military methods with political methods. Now, the emphasis will be on the political sector until the elections. But the Chinese are calling for a continuation of the military methods. If they follow the Chinese advice, they will endanger the mobilization of the American people who favor independence.

Someday negotiations will have to start. The "Insurgent," the magazine of the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs had better give

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some thought to this. If a military victory were possible, that would be another story. But right now that is out. The world communist movement must find some way to synchronize their activities. ~~S~~ (U)

In regard to the position of the Vietnamese and negotiations, although they do have four points, there is a haziness there. The UN can play a role in this situation and that was the essence of the speech by the Hungarian Minister on this problem. I do not accept the idea that we must defer to Hanoi on the subject of negotiations. We should give our opinions because we, above all, know U.S. imperialism. As to the comments attributed to [redacted] I am not too sure that they are accurate and I would have to check them. We should even think through how to use those things stated by the Vietnamese. GIL GREEN's example of "capitulation in Spain" was not good either. It was a different world at that time. The question posed by GIL GREEN is too broad: Is revolution in Latin America desirable? Such a question is not warranted. It is insulting. We do not decide these matters and forms of struggle--we will respect the Party's decision of a given country. ~~S~~ (U)

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The peace movement must demand "stop the bombing," etc., to expose the Administration's bluff. Because of this, the British Labor Party gets away with murder. ~~S~~ (U)

I suggest we form a committee to bring in our proposals on this subject. ~~S~~ (U)

Third Session, October 10, 1965

Chairman - MICKY LIMA ~~S~~ (U)

The third session of the meeting convened on October 10, 1965, and the Chairman, MICKY LIMA, announced that this session would be devoted to an overall discussion of the Party draft program. The first person to speak was GUS HALL. ~~S~~ (U)

GUS HALL ~~S~~ (U)

Our approach to the preparation of this draft of a Party program was to avoid high-flying phrases and generalities. I propose now that we first hold a discussion on the entire draft and then proceed later with a discussion of the draft section by

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section. I think we should each limit ourselves to seven minutes today and to ten minutes tomorrow and thus cut our sessions so that people will not be so tired. ~~S~~ (U)

WILL WEINSTONE | ~~S~~ (U)

I am of the opinion that this is a good program and quite well written. I think that the section dealing with the peaceful road to socialism is very good. However, why don't we make some reference to Marxism-Leninism; why is it left out? Also, why have we neglected to mention the role of the Party? Are we advocating a new Party or not? ~~S~~ (U)

MIKE DAVIDOW | ~~S~~ (U)

Although the document impressed me as being a good one, I think there was a serious weakness in its failure to deal with the transitional period from the present capitalist system to socialism. In regard to federal, state, and city relationships, we must somehow state that in the present political relationship there is room for flexibility forcing changes to bring on socialism and that, therefore, it is possible to accomplish something even under capitalism. I also believe that the Party's position on war and peaceful coexistence can be placed in stronger terms. ~~S~~ (U)

GIL GREEN | ~~S~~ (U)

In connection with the draft of this program, we still have to insert a chapter on programmatic demands. ~~S~~ (U)

ANTON KRCHMAREK | ~~S~~ (U)

In my opinion, the vocabulary in this draft should be simplified. We are supposed to be talking to the working class and therefore it must be understandable. ~~S~~ (U)

JIM ALLEN | ~~S~~ (U)

I feel that it is generally a good document although it may be somewhat overwritten. Also, I am not too sure that we should append specific demands because specific demands do change. ~~S~~ (U)

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CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT ~~(U)~~ (U)

I am of the opinion that the document is one of the best ever developed. Further, I believe that the section of the draft program dealing with the socialist goal or the socialist "dream" should come first. We should also include a description of the vast technical advance in the U.S., its riches, etc., rather than stressing poverty and all things bad. But, it should also show that in spite of these vast technological accomplishments, the many unsolved problems in the country can only be solved through socialism. I believe that the section of the document relating to the Negro question fails to adequately show the impact of the Negro movement in America. ~~(U)~~ (U)

BETTY GANNETT ~~(U)~~ (U)

I agree with CLAUDE's remarks and feel that we should show in this program what capitalism has accomplished and then indict it. ~~(U)~~ (U)

TOM DENNIS ~~(U)~~ (U)

The program must project a living future for this Party. ~~(U)~~

JIM WEST ~~(U)~~ (U)

I feel that this draft sets forth the programmatic position of the CP, USA and is good for the leftward moving masses. It does give a Marxist-Leninist approach even if it is not so spelled out. ~~(U)~~ (U)

WILLIAM PATTERSON ~~(U)~~ (U)

The program should more clearly and concisely outline the Party's position concerning constitutional liberties and show the people that the Party is the best defender of the Constitution and the rights of the people. The present draft contains too many phrases and words without meaning for the average person and if the people won't read the document, it is not worth the paper upon which it is written. ~~(U)~~ (U)

HY LUMER ~~(U)~~ (U)

The real author of this draft document is AL RICHMOND; and he accomplished what was almost an impossible task. There

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are some gaps in this document but these are due to our present inability to give the answers. In regard to the lack of an anti-monopoly program, it may be possible to add an introduction to this program by which we show that we are a Party of Socialism. ~~S~~ (U)

~~GIL GREEN~~ (U)

We do have here a good base for a new program and the credit for this belongs to AL RICHMOND. Before this document could be placed in writing, we needed some clarity of thinking, I believe that the section of the program dealing with socialism and what we stand for can properly be moved to the forward part of this document. ~~S~~ (U)

~~[Redacted]~~ (U)

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I must say that the recent article by Marshal LIN really put communists in a difficult position on the subject of peace. The Chinese are giving everyone the impression that communists are advocates of war. ~~S~~ (U)

At this point a motion was made and passed that a commission be formed to prepare a refutation to the argument of Marshal LIN PIAO that war is necessary and inevitable. The members of the commission are as follows:

- BY LUMER
- ~~[Redacted]~~
- DOROTHY HEALEY
- ANTON KRCHMAREK
- MICKEY LIMA
- JIM JACKSON
- CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
- TOM DENNIS (to replace LIGHTFOOT should LIGHTFOOT be unable to function as a member of this commission)

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~~[Redacted]~~ (U)

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In this draft we now have the basis for our Party program that can now go down to the membership. When this is done, we will have a program. I think, however, that we are too apologetic and spend too much time trying to satisfy the "self-styled" left and this is no good. We can satisfy them and miss the mass movements. I agree that perhaps the portion

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dealing with socialism might be moved up in the program, but I think we should start with the idea that all else in the U.S. is ready for socialism except for the fact that capitalism is so highly developed in the U.S. that it impedes the transition to socialism. ~~S~~ (U)

JACK STACHEL | ~~S~~ (U)

I believe that the most important thing about this document is unity on the most fundamental problems. Whom are we writing this document for? Theoretically, it is for the millions but, in reality, it is for those who are moving in the left direction. ~~S~~ (U)

GUS HALL | ~~S~~ (U)

Our discussions show a positive attitude towards this draft. It is landmark for our more mature leadership. This shows unanimity among us. ~~S~~ (U)

AL RICHMOND did a real fine job and should be commended. He showed a rare ability by being able to incorporate the thoughts of others into this document. In the preparation of this document time was a most important factor since we could not postpone this National Board meeting. This accounts for the reason why certain things were left out such as references dealing with the Negro, etc. This document clearly shows the spirit that we are "rebels" and not just ordinary. Also, it shows that it is a program based upon moving the masses and yet drawing fundamental conclusions. ~~S~~ (U)

There were some difficulties in the preparation of this document, especially in regard to international relations. While we are generally against a monolithic international organization, we are also against polycentrism favoring autonomy of Parties which can be used as an anti-Soviet weapon. In respect to this question we must really think out some more positive aspects. ~~S~~ (U)

I do not agree that we should move the question of socialism to a more forward part of the document. Some people are more interested in the problems that exist now. However, perhaps we can handle it in a preamble that we are a Party of socialization. ~~S~~ (U)

This draft program will be a draft emanating from the National Board. It can still be adopted as the draft by

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the Convention. Later on it can be ratified, perhaps even a year later. ~~S~~ (U)

AL RICHKOND ~~S~~ (U)

I would like to bring up a few points of information. In regard to the mention of our Party, there was a discussion on this. One idea I had was that at the end we might say to those who agree with this program, "Join this Party and struggle to realize its aims." To others who do not agree with us totally but who agree with us on some things, we might say, "Join us in the struggle for these aims on which we agree, while we continue to discuss the others." ~~S~~ (U)

Another area not resolved in this draft is the formulation of programmatic demands. We also need more on structural reform. We need more distillation theoretically on the relationship between capitalism and monopoly. Is this concept formulated by LENIN 55 years ago still applicable today? Perhaps not. We should look into this. ~~S~~ (U)

Another problem was the issue of structure in regard to this document; that is, where to begin--where to start. We must come to the decision that only one thing can come first. Maybe CLAUDE'S point was correct; that is, to start with what identifies us with the people; or may be [redacted] was right when he said we should start with "socko" socialism. However, I would agree with GUS that we would be more in keeping with methodological logic by starting with developments. ~~S~~ (U)

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Following this discussion the meeting was adjourned so that all could continue to study the document in order to participate in the following day's phase of the discussion on the program section by section until it became necessary to adjourn the meeting of the National Board. ~~S~~ (U)

Fourth Session, October 11, 1965

[redacted] ~~S~~ (U)

At the beginning of the fourth session on October 11, 1965, [redacted] announced that this session would be devoted to a discussion of the first part of the Party program draft. This discussion was as follows:

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JAMES ALLEN / ~~X~~ (U)

I would like to bring up several points which perhaps need further treatment in this draft. First of all, in regard to U.S. monopoly, there are millions of people who are still small capitalists. Therefore, the question arises whether we can come out against capitalism in general or should it not be more specifically against the centralization of wealth, that is, monopoly capital. Also, we must deal with monopoly and the cyclical economic crises because there is a spreading myth that with the help of the government such cyclical economic crises have been smoothed out or eliminated. Another aspect which must be treated is the so-called welfare aspect of the state. We must point out that the present capitalist state cannot function without such welfare aspects and that actually there is a socialist trend in the U.S. Therefore, the U.S. needs to be made more Marxist in nature. We must also show that since monopoly dominates the American economy, the farmers and small businessmen are the victims of monopoly. The draft program must show the political benefits that accrue to the monopolists as a result. ~~S~~ (U)

BETTY GANNETT / ~~X~~ (U)

In view of the fact that the section on economics is missing, it is creating certain problems for us. We have to show how the government actually is helping monopoly. It is not sufficient to talk about the "industrial-military complex." We must show the grip of the monopolies on the people. It is disturbing to me when we say that peaceful coexistence depends upon radical changes. In my opinion, this is not so, and we can coexist prior to the accomplishment of these radical changes. ~~S~~ (U)

WILL WEINSTONE / ~~X~~ (U)

We must be clear on the content of the words in this draft. We must use precise words rather than such vague generalities as the "establishment" or the "power structure." The Party must consider the fact that there are a lot of small businesses which are not part of monopoly. However, monopoly is decisive and the transition to socialism will be accelerated if monopoly is abolished. ~~S~~ (U)

GUS HALL / ~~X~~ (U)

The anti-monopoly struggle is most important and fundamental. On this we must be absolutely clear. On this very

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question the Chinese attacked PALMIRO TOGLIATTI and the entire world movement. We should not confuse monopoly domination of our land with the need for a struggle in their own interest by its victims such as farmers and labor. Even to the day of socialism this struggle against monopoly will go on. We must view the entire wide spectrum of victims of monopolies. There is a wide group of victims of monopoly even within business such as distributors, subcontractors, etc. We should also show the struggles and contradictions within monopolies, too, and take advantage of these differences. We must view the anti-monopoly question in such a manner to reflect the level of political and ideological thinking even of masses who are not yet ready to completely overthrow capitalism. S

GIL GREEN / ~~(S)~~ (U)

The Party must concentrate on what is necessary to break up the military-industrial complex. While it is a tremendous task to curb this monopoly, the evident cyclical crises show that capitalism has become "organized." I might also mention that I do not believe that it is possible to ever have "complete disarmament." ~~(S)~~ (U)

BOB THOMPSON / ~~(S)~~ (U)

I believe we should have a paragraph to show that monopoly oppresses everyone. The present anti-monopoly coalition is too narrow. Some fear war but will not go along with us against monopoly; they will only join us in actions for peace. ~~(S)~~ (U)

DOROTHY HEALEY / ~~(S)~~ (U)

A weakness in the draft is that we have not explained what is state-monopoly-capitalism. This must be documented. ~~(S)~~

AL RICHMOND / ~~(S)~~ (U)

I think the time has come for us to make some concrete proposals or we will be here until doomsday. ~~(S)~~ (U)

At this point the proceedings were interrupted for some proposals relative to the forthcoming National Convention of the CP, USA. [] made the following proposals:

1) That the Convention be held in April, 1966, and be called a "National Assembly."

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2) That the first period of the pre-Convention discussion should be concerned with the Party program to be followed by discussion of other topics.

3) That pre-Convention discussion periods should be held through December, 1965, January, 1966, and February, 1966, and articles should be prepared to appear in Party periodicals.

4) That the various Districts should decide what kind of pre-Convention meetings should be held below the District level during February and March, 1966.

5) That each District go through a selection procedure of delegates in a normal manner; that the period July 1, 1965, to December 31, 1965, should be the period the dues averages of which would be used as the basis for selection of delegates to the National Convention.

6) That the next meeting of the full National Committee of the CP, USA would be held at the end of November, 1965 or in early December, 1965. The political resolutions for the Convention should be adopted at this meeting of the National Committee.

7) That after nominations and balloting in the elections at the National Convention that a secret count of the votes would be made by a special committee to be appointed for that purpose. ~~S~~ (U)

On the basis of the above proposals, it was decided that the Convention would be held in April, 1966, and would be held under the name of "National Assembly for Peace and Democracy" or something similar. The draft program would be discussed for a month before other documents for the Convention are injected in the discussion. During the pre-Convention discussion period, December, 1965-February, 1966, extensive use would be made of "Political Affairs", "The Worker", and a special Convention bulletin. District and section conventions will be held in February or March, 1966, and some Districts will decide whether they need special county or section conventions. Conventions will not be held in the Districts after the National Convention. It was agreed that there will be no public announcement of the vote at the National Convention and that reliable and trusted Party members would bring in the results. The number of delegates from each District would be based upon dues averages from July 1, 1965, to December 31, 1965. ~~S~~ (U)

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The next meeting of the entire National Committee will be held at the end of November or early December, 1965, at which the main political resolution for the Convention will be adopted. This meeting will also settle all other questions including convention representation, number of delegates, etc. Invitations will be sent to certain guests and this will also be worked out in the future. It is desired that this Convention have a real impact on American life. While legal problems do exist, they will not interfere with Convention preparations. ~~S~~ (U)

GIL GREEN objected to the various delays in getting the Convention underway and said "Let's go ahead with it." GUS HALL at this point replied by counseling some caution since the Party will be going into certain court procedures in the next few months in a fight for its legality and existence. Yet, he foresaw no obstacle to the beginning of discussions. HALL indicated the date is not important in itself and should be left flexible so the Party can invite youth and others. Perhaps the Party would hold public meetings in all Districts beforehand. According to HALL, there was no need to pinpoint the dates right at this time. All of these general proposals as outlined by [redacted] and GUS HALL were approved. ~~S~~ (U)

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Following this interruption, the discussion of the draft program continued. ~~S~~ (U)

JIM TORNEY ~~S~~ (U)

I would like to repeat that there appears in this Party program no actual characterization of the epoch in which we are living. ~~S~~ (U)

IRVING POTASE ~~S~~ (U)

In my opinion, the draft program is too generous in regard to the U.S. and its past history, especially regarding Latin America. It must be emphasized that the main contradiction is between imperialism and socialism. ~~S~~ (U)

BETTY GANNETT ~~S~~ (U)

Just as the capitalist revolution was ushered in by the revolutions of the 18th Century, so today the socialist revolution is ushering in the new era of socialism. ~~S~~ (U)

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GUS HALL

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There are areas that need strengthening in the program, we'll admit. Because of the fact that we come from the biggest imperialist country means that we cannot just repeat the 81-Party statement, although I agree with the 81-Party statement. We must make it clear that the main antagonist of imperialism is the socialist world. Capitalism will continue to perpetrate acts of aggression. The nature of capitalism does not change but certain forces make it behave differently. ~~S~~ (U)

At the close of this session, HALL urged all present to once again read the Party program document and to write out any changes which they desired and the discussion would continue on the following day. ~~S~~ (U)

Fifth Session, October 12, 1965

Chairman - HELEN WINTER

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The fifth session of the meeting was held on October 12, 1965, under the Chairmanship of HELEN WINTER. A number of speakers were critical on the wording of Section III which was the subject of the initial discussion because of the lack of clarity in the language and the fact that the Party's scope and role were not sufficiently spelled out. ~~S~~ (U)

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

(U)

The civil rights movement has brought about a new political alignment of forces and this is not clearly shown in this document. The Negro-labor alliance must be aligned with the labor movement because its next step is in the political arena. ~~S~~ (U)

HELEN WINTER

(U)

The third section of this draft should be reorganized and rewritten because it is repetitious and not meaningful. ~~S~~ (U)

AL RICHMOND

(U)

Some constructive suggestions for the rewriting of this draft document would be appreciated since up to now the suggestions and criticisms have not been too constructive in this direction. ~~S~~ (U)

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WILLIAM PATTERSON | ~~X~~ (U)

I believe that the section should include a portion to deal with white chauvinism. ~~X~~ (U)

DOROTHY HEALEY | ~~X~~ (U)

It is my opinion that there should be some mention of the historic development of the working class in America. It should reflect labor's inactivity in the 1920's and the militancy of the 1930's. ~~X~~ (U)

JIM TORNEY | ~~X~~ (U)

Section III is one of the strongest sections of the whole document, but greater emphasis should be placed on the unorganized in the South. ~~X~~ (U)

GUS HALL | ~~X~~ (U)

Section III is somewhat "off balance" in its approach to the American working class and the labor movement. Although not evident at first reading, it is really too negative. Although the Party does not have all the answers, it must give leadership towards solving the problems in the labor movement. ~~X~~ (U)

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT | ~~X~~ (U)

The Negro will be unable to move forward in the political field without changes in the labor movement whose leaders are controlled and influenced by white politicians. In regard to the Negro revolution, the church and civil rights workers have gone as far as they can go and now labor must take over in order to obtain political objectives. Through its money, experience, and voting members, labor can more readily achieve these objectives. The Negro masses should concentrate on Negro nationalism in addition to their concern with integration and segregation. ~~X~~ (U)

WILLIAM PATTERSON | ~~X~~ (U)

I consider this document, which is in the process of being written, as one which the Negro people can assume as their own. Only the CP could write a document of such magnitude. The middle class Negro has used their own particular ideology to slow down the Negro movement and this acute danger must be exposed. The Party must recognize and support Dr. MARTIN LUTHER

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KING in regard to the position that he has taken on peace in Vietnam. Dr. KING's stand was magnificent. ~~S~~ (U)

GIL GREEN ~~S~~ (U)

The Party must support Negro nationalism. The Negro is demanding his own leadership and the role of the white people and the civil rights struggle is changing. The leadership in the civil rights movement must now come from two areas: 1) the labor movement; and, 2) the ghetto community. ~~S~~ (U)

JIM ALLEN ~~S~~ (U)

There should be a specific definition of Negro nationalism. Negroes must control the civil rights organizations. Furthermore, if the government fails to provide protection for Negroes, the Negroes have the right to organize and provide their own defense. ~~S~~ (U)

Following the lunch break, HELEN WINTER read to the meeting a birthday greeting to GUS HALL which had been received from the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union expressing their fraternal greetings and wishes for good health and success in mobilizing the CP. ~~S~~ (U)

MICKY LIMA ~~S~~ (U)

Negro-white unity is an essential part of the process of development of class consciousness in this country. ~~S~~ (U)

PHIL BART ~~S~~ (U)

The Party should strive to set up a Negro Affairs Bureau in Washington, D.C., as a part of the Federal Government to handle Negro matters. ~~S~~ (U)

ARNOLD JOHNSON ~~S~~ (U)

The Negro people's struggle during the last decade would be more dramatically portrayed in this draft by specifically citing the number of marches, jailings, etc., and those who died for the cause of Negro freedom. ~~S~~ (U)

WILL WEINSTONE ~~S~~ (U)

This draft document should point out that the struggles of the Negro people have produced a new organization of the Negro

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masses, new Negro leadership, and self-confidence among the Negro people. ~~S~~ (U)

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~~S~~ (U)

I do not think our thinking on religion should be a rigid thinking. We should not have a closed mind on religion especially since the Pope's all-out fight for peace. We must not say that only atheists have the correct thought. Some atheists are very fascist-minded while some Catholics are progressive. ~~S~~ (U)

DOROTHY HEALEY ~~S~~ (U)

I do not agree entirely with what the document stated about religion. While it would be impossible to do an elaborate job on the subject of religion, nevertheless, we cannot leave it as it is. ~~S~~ (U)

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~~S~~ (U)

I believe that the document should show that our Party is in favor of world conferences of CPs. ~~S~~ (U)

At this point, HY LUMER took the floor to render a brief report on a matter not connected with discussion on the Party program. In this report he noted the following:

HY LUMER ~~S~~ (U)

The committee which had been set up previously to review the document of Marshal LIN had now met with most members of that committee being present and participating. As a result of this meeting, the committee now has the following recommendations: The document of Marshal LIN definitely needs a reply by the CP, USA. The committee recommends that most of HALL's remarks in his opening speech be incorporated in the answer to the Chinese on Marshal LIN's document. However, such an answer will not be issued over the signature of GUS HALL but instead will be published as an article in "Political Affairs." All of the arguments which are to be presented as a rebuttal to Marshal LIN's document will be presented from the point of view and with the approach that war is not good. The language of the document will be so tempered as to not embarrass the Soviet Union in any way. Arguments will be picked up and answered as they logically develop in the editorial. ~~S~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Then, on a different matter, The "World Marxist Review" is coming out with its next issue devoted to the U.S. and will consist of articles written by Americans. The articles in this special issue of the magazine include one by GUS on imperialism; one by WINNIE on organization; one by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT on the Negro and civil rights movement; one by VICTOR PERLO on government and business, which will actually be the second installment; and, one by myself on poverty. Everyone should get some extra copies of this special issue of the "World Marxist Review" and see that it is read and distributed. ~~S~~ (U)

At this point and just prior to the adjournment of this five-day meeting of the National Board, it was announced that the draft program which had been under extensive discussion for the entire period of this meeting would now be returned to the Program Committee and that AL RICHMOND would stay over in New York to head up the committee. The committee would attempt to incorporate the recommendations, changes, and amendments to the Party program which this meeting had suggested. The committee then expects to spend about one week to ten days on incorporating these changes into the document and then will transmit the program to the National Board members who attended this meeting. These National Board members will then have a week to ten days to review the amended program and if they feel it necessary will send in additional proposals. By this method the National Board members would be given one more chance to submit some additional specific recommendations. Thereafter, it is hoped that within approximately a week to ten days all final recommendations can be incorporated into the new document and dissemination of the program can be made. ~~S~~ (U)

In addition, a commission of four was appointed to handle the matter of form in which this new Party program would appear, the method of its publication, and to establish when, where, and how the document would be finally distributed. Three of the four members of this commission were: HY LUMER, JIM JACKSON, ~~S~~ (U)

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b7c

The foregoing meeting adjourned at approximately 4:45 p.m., October 12, 1965. ~~S~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
October 28, 1965

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 01-30-2012

~~SECRET~~

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP
CONFERENCE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL
MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On October 15, 1965, a confidential source advised that records of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) Headquarters, Atlanta, reflect that on September 20, 1965, SCLC received the following letter:

"September 16, 1965.

"Rev. Ralph Abernathy
S. C. L. C.
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

"Dear Ralph,

"It was nice seeing you last month at the staff meeting. I missed you the second day and then I had to rush back.

"I am enclosing for [redacted] the withholding certificate which you'll need to put him on the payroll.

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b7c

"Martin told me after talking with you that it would be awkward to pay him \$8,500.00 as salary and \$1,500.00 for disbursements because no one else is on such a basis. A compromise was worked out for \$9,000.00 as salary, which benefits SCLC.

"Stein has been paid as much as \$22,000.00 a year so he should be worth the pay. In addition, he understands if it is not working out to SCLC's benefit financially he will be dropped promptly.

~~SECRET
GROUP 1~~

~~EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC
DOWNGRADING AND DECLASSIFICATION~~

100-153735-2007

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED

~~SECRET~~

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE SCLC;
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

"Warmest personal regards to the family.

"Very truly yours,

"/s/ Stanley

"Stanley D. Levison"

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

STANLEY LEVISON

A confidential source advised in April, 1964, that STANLEY LEVISON was a secret member of the Communist Party (CP), USA, in July, 1963. In late 1963, and early 1964, he criticized the CP for not being sufficiently militant in the civil rights struggle. LEVISON was described by certain CP leaders as being to the "left" of the CP in his position in civil rights. LEVISON's differences with the CP, however, are merely tactical and he continues his ideological adherence to Communism.

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
October 28, 1965

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Title	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Letterhead memorandum dated and captioned as above at Atlanta, Georgia.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

F B I

Date: 10/28/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, ATLANTA
RE: COMINFIL OF SCLC
IS - C
Atlanta file 100-5718
New York file 100-149194
Bufile 100-438794

CIRM
Atlanta file 100-6670
New York file 100-153735
Bufile 100-442529

Enclosed for the Bureau is the original and 8 copies and for New York 3 copies LHM.

Source referred to in the enclosed LHM is [redacted] who on 10/15/65 furnished SA [redacted] a photostatic copy of the letter referred to in enclosed LHM. This letter has been submitted as an exhibit to Atlanta file 100-5718 re SCLC.

NY 694-S* is source used to characterize STANLEY LEVISON.

If information furnished by [redacted] is disseminated it should be classified Confidential because [redacted] occupies a sensitive position with SCLC and dissemination of information furnished by this source to unauthorized persons could reasonably be expected to injure national security.

- 4 - Bureau (Enc. 9) (RM)
(3- 100-438794)
(1- 100-442529)
- 3 - New York (Enc. 3) (RM)
- 5 - Atlanta (1- 100-5718)
(1- 100-6670)

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
OCT 28 1965
FBI - NEW YORK

(1- 157-257) (RALPH ABERNATHY)

(1- 100-6828) (WM: [redacted])

(1- [redacted])

AGS:cb
(12)

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

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b7C
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b7D

b6
b7C
b7D

100-153735-35 2008

AT 100-5718
AT 100-6670

The enclosed LHM is classified ~~Secret~~ because it contains information from NY 694-S*, a highly sensitive source furnishing information concerning racial matters in the New York area and the Communist infiltration thereof.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

215 U. S. Post Office Building
P. O. Box 1111
Little Rock, Arkansas, 72203
October 28, 1965

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT
NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
(SNCC)
MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION

On September 7, 1965, [redacted] Gould, Arkansas, advised that she has been a field volunteer worker for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) at Gould, Arkansas, since July 15, 1965. She advised she was born on [redacted] New York, [redacted] Dr. and Mrs. PHILIP S. FONER, Mountain Trail, Croton-On-Hudson, New York, [redacted] a publisher of the Citadel Press in New York City.

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Concerning PHILIP SHELDON FONER, who is a partner in the Citadel Press, 222 Fourth Avenue, New York, New York, the following information is set forth:

PHILIP FONER attended a New York County leadership school for the Communist Party (CP) at Woodbridge, New York, about the first six weeks of 1938.

(LR T-1, 1938)

A CP affair, which was addressed by the chairman of the New York state CP, was held at the home of PHILIP FONER on November 18, 1960.

(LR T-2, 11/28/60)

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-153735-2009
SEARCHED _____ INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED _____ FILED _____
OCT 31 1965
FBI - NEW YORK

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT
NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
(SNCC)
MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION

PHILIP FONER goes to Russia to collect money which the Russians owed him as royalties on his books.

(LR T-3, 11/3/61)

PHILIP FONER and his wife ROSLYN are close associates of [redacted] Cuban Mission to the UN, and [redacted] has been a frequent weekend guest at the FONERS' home.

(LR T-4, 1962)

b6
b7c

The FONERS were guests of [redacted] supra, at a party held at the Cuban Mission to the UN on May 17, 1963.

(LR T-4, 5/18/63)

PHILIP FONER spoke at a forum sponsored by the New York City Chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in New York City on June 17, 1963. A characterization of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee is contained in the Appendix hereto.

(LR T-5, 6/20/63)

PHILIP FONER attended a New York reception honoring ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, who was then National Chairman of the CP, USA, on March 31, 1963.

(LR T-6, 3/31/63)

The October 18, 1964, edition of "The Worker" contains a letter from PHILIP S. FONER commenting on a book review by GEORGE MORRIS in the October 4, 1964, edition of "The Worker."

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper.

On August 3, 1965, an advertisement sponsored by the New York School for Marxist Studies, Student Committee on Progressive Education, indicated that classes on new developments in Marxist thought would be held Wednesdays through August 25, 1965, at 7:30 P. M., Room 15A, 853 Broadway, New

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT
NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
(SNCC)
MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION

York City. The advertisement indicated that the topic for August 4, 1965, would be "Cuba and the Struggle for Latin American Independence" and the lecturer would be Dr. PHILIP S. FONER.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE

The April 6, 1960, edition of "The New York Times" newspaper contained a full-page advertisement captioned "What Is Really Happening In Cuba," placed by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC). This advertisement announced the formation of the FPCC in New York City and declared the FPCC intended to promulgate "the truth about revolutionary Cuba" to neutralize the distorted American press.

"The New York Times" edition of January 11, 1961, reported that at a hearing conducted before the United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on January 10, 1961, Dr. Charles A. Santos-Buch identified himself and Robert Taber as organizers of the FPCC. He also testified he and Taber obtained funds from the Cuban Government which were applied toward the cost of the aforementioned advertisement.

On May 16, 1963, a source advised that during the first two years of the FPCC's existence there was a struggle between Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) elements to exert their power within the FPCC and thereby influence FPCC policy. This source added that during the past year there had been a successful effort by FPCC leadership to minimize the role of these and other organizations in the FPCC so that their influence as of May, 1963, was negligible.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On May 20, 1963, a second source advised that Vincent "Ted" Lee, FPCC National Office Director, was then formulating FPCC policy and had indicated that he had no intention of permitting FPCC policy to be determined by any other organization. This source stated that Lee believed that the FPCC should advocate resumption of diplomatic relations between Cuba and the United States and should support the right of Cubans to manage their revolution without interference from other nations. Lee did not advocate supporting the Cuban revolution per se.

The November 23, 1963, edition of "The New York Times" reported that Senator Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut had called FPCC "the chief public relations instrument of the Castro

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

network in the United States." It is to be noted that Senator Dodd was a member of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee which twice conducted hearings on the FPCC.

The December 27, 1963, edition of "The New York World Telegram and Sun" newspaper stated that the pro-Castro FPCC was seeking to go out of business and that its prime activity during its lifetime had been sponsorship of pro-Castro street rallies and mass picket lines, and the direction of an active propaganda mill highlighting illegal travel-to-Cuba campaigns. Its comparatively brief span of life was attributed to mounting anti-Castro American public opinion, the 1962 Congressional hearings which disclosed FPCC financing by Castro's United Nations Delegation, and ultimately, the bad publicity which the FPCC received from disclosure of activities on its behalf by suspected presidential assassin Lee H. Oswald.

On February 6, 1964, the previously mentioned second source advised that V. T. Lee had recently remarked that the FPCC was dead and that there were no plans to organize another similar organization.

On April 13, 1964, a third source advised that there had not been any FPCC activity in many months and that the FPCC had been dissolved.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
215 U. S. Post Office Building
P. O. Box 1111
Little Rock, Arkansas, 72203
October 28, 1965

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
Character	MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION
Reference	Letterhead memorandum dated October 28, 1965, at Little Rock captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

F B I

Date: 10/28/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439190)
 FROM: SAC, LITTLE ROCK (100-3506) P
 SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT
 NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
 (SNCC)
 IS - C
 OO: Atlanta
 Bufile(100-439190)

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL
 MATTERS
 IS - C
 OO: New York
 Bufile (100-442529)

Re Little Rock airtel to New York dated 9/10/65
 and New York airtel to Little Rock dated 10/25/65.

Enclosed to the Bureau are 12 copies of a letterhead
 memorandum captioned "COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-
 VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC), MISCELLANEOUS
 INFORMATION," dated October 28, 1965.

Enclosed to Atlanta are 2 copies of this LHM as office
 of origin in the COMINFIL SNCC case, and enclosed to New York
 are 2 copies of this LHM as office of origin in the CIRM case.

5 - Bureau (Enc. 12) (RM)
 (3 - 100-439190 COMINFIL SNCC) (2 - 100-442529 CIRM)
 2 - Atlanta (100-6488 COMINFIL SNCC) (Enc. 2) (RM)
 ② - New York (100-153735 CIRM) (Enc. 2) (RM)
 5 - Little Rock (2 - 100-3506) (2 - 100-3564) (1 - 100-3620)
 EFM/jew
 (14)

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

100-153735-2010

[Handwritten signature and initials]

LR 100-3506

Copies of this LHM have been furnished locally to INTC, Little Rock, Ark., Secret Service, Little Rock, Ark., OSI, Barksdale AFB, Louisiana, and ONI, New Orleans, La.

Also attached to the Bureau are 2 copies of FD-376 for appropriate dissemination to U. S. Secret Service, Washington, D. C.

The enclosed LHM is classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" inasmuch as it contains information from sensitive New York sources and any unauthorized disclosure of information contained therein would tend to identify these sources and seriously hamper future investigations of the CP, USA.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Informant

File Number Where Located

LR T-1

[REDACTED]

LR 100-3620-5

LR T-2

NY 2361-S*

LR T-3

NY 3253-S*

LR T-4

[REDACTED]

LR T-5

[REDACTED]

LR 100-3620-5

LR T-6

[REDACTED]

LR 100-3620-5

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b7C
b7D
b7E

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

10/29/53

SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

CIFM

ReBulet to NY, 10/22/53, and NYlet to Bureau,
10/18/53.

On 10/28/53, [redacted] was interviewed by SAs
JAMES G. FITZGERALD and JOHN C. BEATCH in the vicinity of 119th
Street and 3rd Ave., NYC. [redacted] stated that he resides at
[redacted] Palisades, NY, and is employed as [redacted]
[redacted] NYC.

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b7C

[redacted] stated that he was a member of the Bath Beach
Club of the Communist Party in Brooklyn, NY, from approximately
1939 to 1949. He stated that when he joined the CP he sincerely
felt that the Communist approach to matters concerning the country
was the best, but he stated that after he got out of the Navy,
he realized that he was in error and terminated his association
with the Party. [redacted] advised that he was not active in the CP
while he was in the service, but he did retain his CP membership
during this period.

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b7C

[redacted] was asked if he could recall names of individuals
who were active in the Bath Beach Club of the CP; he paused for
a few moments ostensibly contemplating the question and then
said he could not recall any of the names. A number of names of
people who had been in the Bath Beach Club were mentioned to him,
and photographs were exhibited, but he replied that he did not
know them. [redacted] photograph was shown him, and he
immediately identified him by name. [redacted] said he did not know
if WACHTEL was a member of the CP or if he had attended meetings
of the CP. He recalled that WACHTEL was a member of the American
Labor Party and the American League Against War and Fascism.
He mentioned that he had attended a number of meetings at which
WACHTEL was present, but he said he could not recall the nature
of these meetings. According to [redacted] WACHTEL has not been in
contact with [redacted] in recent years.

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b7C

- 3-Bureau (100-442529) (RM)
- (1-100-437823) (HARRY H. WACHTEL)
- 1-NY (100-93285) [redacted] (40)
- 1-NY (100-57382) [redacted] (40)
- 1-NY (100-148209) (HARRY H. WACHTEL) (42)
- 1-NY (100-83559) (DEFECTED COMMUNIST) (40)
- 1-NY (100-153735) (42)

Indexed
Serialized
Filed

b6
b7C

JCG:mv

100-153735-2011

NY 100-153735

When asked if his wife, [redacted] had been associated with the CP, he stated that she would have to speak for herself.

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b7C

The following is a physical description of [redacted]:

Name	[redacted]
Sex	Male
Race	White
Age	50
Height	5'6"
Weight	145-150
Build	Medium
Complexion	Fair
Hair	Brown-greying

During the course of the interview, [redacted] said he would cooperate in any way possible and would answer any questions. It was suggested to him that he give some thought to his membership in the CP in an effort to recall individuals who were members during the period when he was a member, and upon giving it consideration, to contact the NYO. [redacted] agreed to give this matter consideration. If [redacted] does not contact the NYO in a reasonable period of time, he will be recontacted.

b6
b7C

[redacted] will be interviewed by the NYO.

File—Serial Charge Out
FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

048-16-83475-1 GPO

File 106 153738 2013 Date 5-10
Class. Case No. Last Serial

Pending Closed

Serial No. Description of Serial Date Charged

Serial sent to Bureau, per
Buairtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77,
titled; Bernard S. Lee v.
Clarence M. Kelley, et. al.
BuFile 62-117194d

Section #23
Employee

RECHARGE

Date _____

To _____ From _____

Initials of Clerk { _____

Date { _____

Date Charged

Employee

Location

11/2/05

AIRTEL

~~SECRET~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)
SUBJECT: CIRM
IS-C

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY 6090 on 12/14/77
REASON FOR EXTENSION
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2 2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION indefinite

According to NY 2559-S* on 10/28/65, during a Secretariat meeting that date of the CPUSA, MARTIN LUTHER KING and his activities were discussed by members present. Among those present were the following: ~~SECRET~~ (U)

GUS HALL, GIL GREEN, WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, IRVING POTASH, JACK STACHEL, JAMES TORNEY and HENRY WINSTON. ~~SECRET~~ (U)

The Secretariat discussed a committee which had been formed apparently outside the CP called, "The John Brown Commemoration Committee" to mark the 100th anniversary of the execution of JOHN BROWN at Harper's Ferry. ~~SECRET~~ (U)

During the meeting, GIL GREEN referred to the role of MARTIN LUTHER KING in the civil rights field. GREEN stated, KING is wrong in thinking that present federal legislation ~~SECRET~~ (U)

- 3-Bureau (100-442529) (RM)
 - (1-100-106670) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
 - (1-100-3-69) (CPUSA-ORGANIZATION)
- 2-Atlanta (100-6670) (CIRM) (RM)
 - (1-100-5586) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
- 1-NY (100-136585) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (42)
- 1-NY (100-80641) (CPUSA-ORGANIZATION) (42)
- 2-NY (100-153735) (42)

100-153735-2014

TJD:rmv
(11)

~~Serialized
Indexed
Filed~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-193755

is going to solve the jury problem in the South. ~~SECRET~~ (U)
continued that only when it is recognized that white blood
may be shed, will the federal government intervene. GREEN
said, "we" have to state a positive position for the right of
the Negro to defend himself.

GUS HALL stated KING's position is for mass meetings,
mass mobilizations and mass protests and these should be seen
as a foundation to be built upon. ~~SECRET~~ (U)

HENRY WINSTON and WILLIAM L. PATTERSON attacked
GREEN's position. WINSTON said GREEN's position that the
federal government will act (in civil rights struggles) only
if a few more whites are killed, is totally wrong. He said
Negroes have rejected this position and they understand the
need for unity to achieve their ends. PATTERSON said the
Party has never subordinated its position to the position of
KING and it is not giving KING the leadership of this movement
in America. ~~SECRET~~ (U)

PATTERSON continued, saying that to reject KING at
this moment would be the same as rejecting the entire development
of the mass movement. At this time, PATTERSON referred to a
document saying it has distorted DJ BOIS' position (W.E.B. DU BOIS)
who never embraced the role of JOHN EDGAR. PATTERSON called for
a meeting of the Negro Commission to discuss the matter. ~~SECRET~~ (U)

Above is for the information of the Bureau and
Atlanta.

File—Serial Charge Out
FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

648-10-83475-1 GPO

File 100-153735 2016 Date 4/29/77

Class Case No. Last Serial

Pending Closed

Serial No. Description of Serial Date Charged

Serial sent to Bureau, per Bu-
airtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77,
titled; Bernard S. Lee v.
Glarence M. Kelley, et. al.
Bufile 62-117194c

Employee

RECHARGE

Date

To From

Initials of Clerk

Date

Date Charged

Employee

Location

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Bu 100-442529

New York, New York
November 8, 1965

Re: Communist Influence in
Racial Matters
Internal Security - C

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on October 28, 1965, that a meeting of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA) Secretariat and invited guests was held that date at 23 West 20th Street, New York, New York. Present were Secretariat members, Gus Hall, Gilbert Green and Henry Winston, in addition to William L. Patterson.

A second confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on September 29, 1965, that William L. Patterson is the District Chairman of the New York District CP.

According to the source, the Secretariat discussed a committee, apparently formed outside the CP, called "The John Brown Commemoration Committee" to mark the 105th anniversary of the execution of John Brown at Harper's Ferry, West Virginia.

During the meeting, Gilbert Green referred to the role of Reverend Martin Luther King in the civil rights field. Green said that King is wrong in thinking that present federal legislation is going to solve the jury problem in the South and produce enforcement of federal laws. Green continued that the federal government will intervene in civil rights struggles only when it is recognized that "white blood" may be shed. Green said "we" have to state a positive position for the right of the Negro to defend himself.

100-153735-2017

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Searched _____

Filed _____

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Communist Influence in
Racial Matters
Internal Security - C

Gus Hall stated King's position (in the civil rights field) is based upon mass meetings, mass mobilizations and mass protests which should be viewed as a foundation to be built upon.

Henry Winston and William L. Patterson attacked Green's position. Winston said Green's position regarding federal intervention in civil rights struggles is totally wrong. He said Negroes have rejected this position and Negroes understand the need for unity to achieve their ends. Patterson said the CP has never subordinated its position to the position of King and it is not giving King the leadership of this movement in America.

Patterson continued, saying that to reject King at this moment would be the same as rejecting the entire development of the mass movement (in the civil rights field). At this time, Patterson referred to an unknown document saying it has distorted DuBois' position (W.E.B. DuBois) who never embraced the role of John Brown. Patterson called for a meeting of the CPUSA Negro Commission to discuss this matter.

W. E. B. Du Bois died in Ghana, Africa, at the age of 96. He joined the CP at the age of 93. His letter of application to the CPUSA and his acceptance were printed in "The Worker", an East Coast Communist newspaper, issue of November 20, 1961.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

11/8/65

AIRTEL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)
SUBJECT: CIRM
IS-C

ReNY airtel 11/2/65, and Buairtel, 11/5/65.

Enclosed are seven copies of a letterhead memorandum setting out information in referenced NY airtel. The first confidential source is NY 2359-3* and the second is

b7D

This memorandum has been classified "~~confidential~~" because it contains information from the above sources, the unauthorized disclosure of which would seriously impair the investigation of the CPUSA, and such impairment could have an adverse effect upon the national defense interests of the country.

5-Bureau (100-442529) (Encl. 7) (RM)
(1-100-106670) (MARTIN L. KING)
(1-100-3-69) (CPUSA - ORGANIZATION)

1-NY (100-153735)

TJD:rmv

(Handwritten initials)

100-153735-2018

Serialized _____
Indexed _____
Filed _____

(Handwritten signatures)

F B I

Date: 11/5/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via airtel _____
(Priority)

To: SAC, New York (100-153735)

From: Director, FBI (100-442529)

CIRM

Reurairtel 11/2/65 which reported on a 10/28/65 Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) Secretariat meeting at which Martin Luther King, Jr., and his activities were discussed.

By return airtel, furnish information concerning this matter in a letterhead memorandum (LHM) suitable for dissemination.

It is suggested that the LHM should have been submitted without Bureau prompting. Please bring this matter to the attention of appropriate personnel.

*Done
11/8*

*11/6/65
[initials]
[initials]*

Section
100-153735-2019
SEARCHED _____ INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED _____ FILED _____
NOV 6 1965
FBI - NEW YORK
J. J. Devine

Sent Via _____ M Per _____

0

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE NEW YORK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 10/29/65	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 7/21/65-10/18/65
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS		REPORT MADE BY JOHN C. SEATON	TYPED BY ats
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS-C	

REFERENCE:

Report of SA JOHN C. SEATON, dated 7/30/65.

-P-

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report has been classified "~~Secret~~" because it contains information from NY 3810-S*, NY 4092-S*, NY 4212-S*, and NY 5182-S*, all of whom hold sensitive positions with respect to the racial situation and the Communist infiltration thereof. In order not to jeopardize these sources, the secret classification is being used.

It is also being classified "~~Secret~~" because it contains information from NY 694-S*, who furnished highly concentrated information in order to characterize STANLEY LEVISON. This classification is being used in order to protect this valuable source.

Bo's kept in Bucky's 11/8/65

APPROVED 	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE: 9 - Bureau (100-442529) (RM) 1 - Office of Deputy Chief of Staff Intelligence (RM) 1 - 2nd OSI District, USAF (RM) 1 - DIO, Third Naval District (RM) 4 - New York (100-153735) 		100	153735-2020
		Serialized	
		Indexed	
		Filed	
		Ret'd	

Dissemination Record of Attached Report				Notations
Agency				
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.				
How Fwd.				
By				

NY 100-153735

Copies of this report have been disseminated to local intelligence agencies in accordance with Bureau instructions.

For the information of the Bureau, an appendix section has been utilized in this report for the purpose of characterizing individuals and organizations mentioned in this report. This appendix contains all of the individuals who can be characterized.

In addition to SA SEATON, this report was prepared by the following Special Agents:

JOHN W. ROBINSON	Progressive Labor Party
[REDACTED]	Socialist Workers Party
A. LEWIS BARNETT	Workers World Party
[REDACTED]	Congress of Racial Equality
ANTHONY E. CONSTANTINO	National Association For the Advancement of Colored People
RAYMOND F. MOHR	Negro American Labor Council
[REDACTED]	Southern Christian Leadership Conference

b6
b7C

In 7/65, NY 694-S* advised that according to GUS HALL, [REDACTED] has been "hired" on a full-time basis to work "secretly" in recruiting into CP, USA, Negroes from the civil rights movement. [REDACTED] was to be given \$5,000.00 for salary and expenses.

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HALL also stated that [REDACTED] had been assigned to organize a delegation of seven CP, USA members active in the CP, USA Negro movement to go to Moscow under the auspices of "Freedomways" at the invitation of the "Writers Union in Moscow".

On 8/7/65, CG 5824-S* furnished SA RICHARD W. HANSEN the following information:

During the course of the National Board meeting of the

NY 100-153735

CP, USA, held in NYC, during the period July 16-19, 1965, JAMES JACKSON, Editor of "The Worker", cornered CG 5824-S* during one of these days for a discussion which lasted one and one-half hours. One of the things JACKSON did at this time was to tell him that the Party could not let [redacted] go, and JACKSON noted that [redacted] was now on the verge of leaving NYC and looking for another job. He said that if [redacted] left, the Party would lose his full services for Freedomways, Inc., as well as his talent and work in the civil rights movement. The Party, according to JACKSON could not find a better man for these tasks. JACKSON stated we must do something, and we should do something to subsidize him. He asked the question, "Why don't you do something?" CG 5824-S* replied that all he could do was possibly use what influence he had but that he had no money and could make no decision in this connection. CG 5824-S* then asked JACKSON, "What do you want me to do? What do you intend to do?" JACKSON's response was well maybe he could take this up with GUS HALL. At this point, CG 5824-S* suggested to JACKSON that he felt it might be best for him to talk to WINSTON on this matter first and then possibly LIGHTFOOT. When JACKSON had done this, CG 5824-S suggested that perhaps they, JACKSON and WINSTON, could jointly present this suggestion concerning some help to [redacted] to the Party as a considered opinion of the collective. CG 5824-S* told JACKSON that if he was asked, he would agree to the suggestion being made by JACKSON.

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The source noted that JACKSON apparently did go ahead and did something on this matter and must have talked to WINSTON as well as LIGHTFOOT. It is assumed that he talked to LIGHTFOOT because LIGHTFOOT raised this matter in Chicago. When LIGHTFOOT raised this matter, he was told JACKSON had previously mentioned it in New York. Apparently also following the National Board meeting, JACKSON as well as WINSTON must have talked to GUS HALL about the situation involving [redacted]. It is assumed that as a result GUS agreed to the proposition to do something financially for [redacted]

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GUS HALL approved this suggestion and his approval authorized turning over \$5,000.00 to [redacted]. This \$5,000.00, according to JACKSON and HALL, will now be used by [redacted] in

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NY 100-153735

connection with his work. He is, in fact, being subsidized by the Party as the Party man in the civil rights movement. There are no restrictions on this money and no matter where [redacted] gets located, he is guaranteed this \$5,000.00. He can use it any way he sees fit and is not limited as to its disposal.

This information is not being included in the report because it is felt that the inclusion of this information would compromise the informant.

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The information from NY 694-S* and CG 5824-S* with respect to [redacted] is not being included in the report because the nature of the information tends to identify these valuable sources.

"Political Affairs" was reviewed for the pertinent period but no pertinent information was located.

SAS who observed activity on 8/30/65, at 575 Madison Ave., NYC, were [redacted], JOHN C. SEATON and [redacted]

b6
b7C

SA [redacted] observed the street rally on 8/24/65.

NYO files contain no pertinent info concerning CORE Chapters in the NYC area other than Staten Island CORE. On 10/7/65, Detective [redacted] Bureau of Special Services, NYCPD, advised SA [redacted] that a review of their records indicate there have been no change in officers listed in various chapters of CORE throughout the NYC area. These officers were set forth in a previous CIRM report, and are not being repeated in this report.

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INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-1
NY 2359-S*

NY T-2
NY 2360-S*

NY 100-153735

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-3

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Characterization of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

NY T-4
CG 5824-S*

Characterization of GIL GREEN
" " HYMAN LUMER
" " HENRY WINSTON

b7D

NY T-5
NY 2010-S*

NY T-6

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

NY T-7

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

NY T-8

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Characterization of [Redacted]
" " CHARLES JOHNSON

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-9

[Redacted]

NY 100-153735-1722

NY T-10

[Redacted]

Characterization of [Redacted]
" " [Redacted]

[Redacted]

Characterization of [Redacted]
" " [Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-11

[Redacted]

Characterization of TOM DENNIS

NY T-12

[Redacted]

Characterization of TOM DENNIS
" " EARL DIRHAM
" " [Redacted]

NY 100-153735

Identity of Source

File Where Located

NY T-13
NY 694-S*

Characterization of GUS HALL:
" " JAMES JACKSON
" " MARTIN LUTHER
" " KING, JR.
" " [REDACTED]
" " STANLEY LEVISON

NY T-14
NY 2760-S*

Characterization of [REDACTED] b6
[REDACTED] b7C
[REDACTED] b7D

NY T-15

[REDACTED]

(SCOPE)

Instant Report
Characterization of [REDACTED]
" " [REDACTED]
" " MIKE DAVIDOW
" " MARIAN KNIGHT
" " WILLIAM PATTERSO
" " [REDACTED]
" " DANNY RUBEL
" " ROBERT THOMPSON
" " JAMES TORMEY
" " [REDACTED]

NY T-16
NY 3810-S*

NY T-17
NY 4212-S*

NY T-18
NY 2233-S*

NY T-19

[REDACTED]

NY T-20
NY 5182-S*

b7E

NY 100-153735

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-21

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Characterization of JOHN CUTCH

" "

[Redacted]

NY T-22

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

NY T-23
NY 4092-S*

NY T-24

[Redacted]

NY 100-7629-6331-6366
(SCOPE)

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-25

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(SCOPE)
Instant Report

NY T-26

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

100-153249-44
100-153249-47

NY T-27

[Redacted]

Characterization of [Redacted]

NY T-28

[Redacted]

Characterization of [Redacted]

"

[Redacted]

NY T-29

[Redacted]

Characterization of [Redacted]

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b7C
b7D

NY T-30

[Redacted]

Characterization of [Redacted]

NY T-31

[Redacted]

Characterization of [Redacted]

NY 100-153735

Identity of Source

NY T-32
NY 1181-S*

NY T-33

[Redacted]

(By Request)

NY T-34

Former [Redacted]

NY T-35

[Redacted]

NY T-36

Former [Redacted]

NY T-37

Former [Redacted]

NY T-38

[Redacted]

NY T-39

Anonymous Source of WFO,
set forth in report of
SA [Redacted] 2/19/50,
WFO, re "NLG; IS-C".

NY T-40

NY 1190-S*

File Number Where Located

Characterization of RALPH HELSTEIN

b6
b7C
b7D

Characterization of [Redacted]
" " [Redacted]

Characterization of [Redacted]

Characterization of [Redacted] ... 3.3

Characterization of [Redacted]

Characterization of CLARENCE JONES

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b7C
b7D

Characterization of HARRY WACHTEL

NY 100-153735

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-41

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(SCOPE)

NY T-42

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Characterization of MALCOLM X

NY T-43

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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b7C
b7D

NY T-44

Former [REDACTED]

Characterization of [REDACTED]

NY T-45

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Characterization of [REDACTED]
" " [REDACTED]

LEAD

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Will follow and report pertinent activity in the field of Communist Influence in Racial Matters for the quarterly period ending 2/1/65.

D
D
 UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
 FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
 DATE 01-31-2012

~~SECRET~~

Copy to: 1 - Office of Deputy Chief of Staff Intelligence (RM)
 1 - Second OSI District (RM)
 1 - DIO, Third Naval District (RM)

Report of: JOHN C. SEATON
 Date: October 29, 1965

Office: New York, New York

Field Office File #: 100-153735

Bureau File #: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: CPUSA, in Summer of 1965, held a Party school in New Jersey; it was noted that there was a course on civil rights which was established primarily for people active in civil rights work. A draft entitled, "An Approach to a Resolution on the Negro Question", by JAMES JACKSON, was made available to those attending a meeting of the National Board of the CPUSA in July, 1965; in this draft it was stated The Party's Leadership Role and Organization is a need of the Freedom Movement. In August, 1965, officials of CP decided to release a statement concerning Los Angeles riots; it was urged that National Guard be removed and money being used to maintain them be used instead for relief of riot victims; it was also urged that police brutality and "the reign of the trigger -- happy cops in Negro communities" be stopped. On 8/20/65, at a meeting of the 11th A.D. Club of the CP, [redacted] [redacted] said that stepped up action must follow to stop the war in Viet Nam, and bring the troops home to stand guard in Mississippi and Louisiana, where they are needed to protect the rights of the Negroes. In "The Worker" of 7/20/65, it is stated the Johnson Administration is getting ready to declare a national emergency against the desires of the American people in

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~~SECRET~~~~Group I~~

~~Excluded from automatic
 downgrading and
 declassification~~

NY 100-153735

SYNOPSIS (Continued)

order to send Americans to Viet Nam, and it was stated if he is concerned with emergencies he need look no further than Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, New York City and Chicago. "The Worker" said bring back the troops from Viet Nam and deploy them against enemies of democracy in our country. At National Convention of SWP in September, 1965, SWP leaders analyzed role of SWP as encouraging Negro independent political action and opposing current Negro leadership; the goal would be turning Negro protest movement from gradualism to pro-socialism.

In August, 1965, [redacted] hailed the rebellion of the black people of Los Angeles as a genuine revolutionary and a sure sign of the coming black emancipation; urged friends of Black Freedom to rally to the cause of the embittered black masses of Los Angeles, to condemn their oppressors and to avenge the murders of their comrades-in-arms. WWP stated black masses are determined to win freedom whatever the cost and WWP supports them without reservation. CP members continue to be active within NALC. STANLEY LEVISON, BAYARD RUSTIN and HARRY WACHTEL continue their contacts with SCLC.

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- P -

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DETAILS

Characterizations of individuals and organizations are set forth in the appendix section of this report.

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

A. Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA)

1. Plans, Strategy Made at National Level of the Party

On July 6, 1965, a meeting of the Secretariat, CP, USA, was held at CP Headquarters. According to the source, the first part of the meeting was devoted to a discussion of the recently concluded Party school held in New Jersey. HY LUMER commented that it was one of the most important developments in "our work" in many years. He said it was : precedent setting in having such a school on such a scale. He noted that there were approximately 75 students having four separate classes which ran simultaneously.

LUMER commented regarding the content of the school noting that there was a course on civil rights which was established primarily for people active in civil rights work.

NY T-1
July 6, 1965

On July 8, 1965, HENRY WINSTON, BILL PATTERSON, and GIL GREEN had an informal discussion at CP Headquarters, New York City.

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WINSTON told the group that he was expecting CYRIL BRIGGS at 2:00 PM. He said that BRIGGS was a real oldtimer who was in from the west coast to do some writing.

PATTERSON and GREEN discussed an article written by BRIGGS concerning the Negro situation. PATTERSON commented that the article documents how Negro students are being used to support the foreign policy. He said, however, that he was at a loss to understand to whom the article is addressed and complained that it was far too general.

Continuing, PATTERSON commented that the article, on the whole, does not make the fight for liberty. He said it pictures the Communist in the light of people who think they know it all. He said the article does not have the correct approach to the question. He felt that they should tell BRIGGS that he poses the question in the incorrect manner. He cautioned, however, that they should not discourage him from writing in that vein, but ~~say~~ the article in its present approach is not helpful.

GIL GREEN echoed the comment made by PATTERSON. He said the article would strike a responsive note with some Negroes, but it does not have the right approach.

WINSTON agreed that they should make their views known to BRIGGS.

NY T-2
July 8, 1965

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A meeting of the National Board of the CP, USA was held at the Park Sheraton Hotel, New York City, on July 16, 1965 through July 19, 1965. With respect to a resolution on the Negro question, it was agreed, on July 17, 1965, by a group of members interested in Negro matters, that the body which was established at the Negro Commission meeting and which had the responsibility for preparing the resolution in Chicago on August 7 or 8, 1965, would meet. This committee would be composed of HENRY WINSTON, JIM JACKSON, THOMAS DENNIS, EARL DURHAM, and [REDACTED] This was agreed upon because time would not permit an adequate discussion and the resolution which was before the Board was totally inadequate.

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NY T-3
July 19-20, 1965

The following draft, "An Approach to a Resolution on the Negro Question", by JAMES JACKSON was made available to those attending a meeting of the National Board of the CP, USA in New York City on July 16-19, 1965:

"An Approach to a Resolution on the Negro Question

"For a decade the Negro freedom movement has leaped forward. It has initiated wave after wave of mass actions which has set millions into motion in support of first one and then another of the programatic requirements for securing equality and freedom.

"In overwhelming numbers the young generation of white youth have come out in behalf of the demands of the Negro people to be free from all manner of discrimination.

JCS:kxb

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"The major denominations of church-goers support the just demands of the Negro people.

"The majority of the organized labor movement is involved in the purposeful drive of the Negro people to secure the full measure of the rights to which they are entitled as citizens on the same, equal, level of that of all other peoples of the nation.

"Decisive sections of world public opinion have expressed its solidarity with the just cause of the Negro Americans.

"Under the ceaseless hammering of the Negro people and the everwidening front of their active supporters among the rest of the nation, and, as a consequence of the effect of this struggle upon world public opinion, the Federal government and the Administration have been compelled to make significant interventions in behalf of upholding the constitutional rights of the Negro citizen.

"Civil Rights legislation has been won. Some integration of Negroes in areas of Federal authority has been realized, etc. Substantial gains have been made in affirming the legality of the Negroes' demands to be free to exercise every right which white citizens claim, and racial discrimination has been outlawed though not ended.

"Nevertheless, the most oppressed component of the nation is the Negro people. Racial prejudice, political disfranchisement, economic deprivation and social discrimination characterize their status in relation to the white people of the nation. Indeed, the integration of Negro-Americans in the economic,

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"political and social life of the nation is nowhere accomplished in fair ratio to their numbers in the population. The opportunity for Negro Americans to participate in the major pursuits of the nation remains meanly circumscribed and severely limited by law or custom.

"The cause of the freedom and equality of the Negro Americans is a cause yet to be won. The prolonged and oftentimes heroic struggle of the movement for equality over the past decade has brought the vision of victory nearer, but the goal remains an objective to be fought for.

"In the present and developing phase of the Negro people's struggle for equal rights and freedom, a new quality of emphasis must be placed on the question of the interaction and interdependence of this struggle to the historic workingclass obligation to lead the entire nation in struggle to break through the barrier of the capitalist social system, this big business dominated society which is structured to serve primarily the profit interest of the monopolists, rather than satisfy the ever expanding needs and requirements of the masses of the people.

"Lenin noted that it was necessary to be mindful of the wide range of the correlations between the movement of the oppressed and the proletarian emancipation movement of the oppressing people; to help each in turn to identify its cause and goals with that of the other. He saw the convergence and mutual reinforcement of those two movements as essential for the victory of either. This concept has special validity for our time and the struggle in our country;

JCS:kxb

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"emphatically so, when we give consideration to the overwhelming workingclass composition of the Negro people.

"In the period ahead the Negro freedom movement will increasingly develop a consciousness of the objective fact that the struggle for Negro equality and freedom is a specialized part of the workingclass struggle; that ultimately the Negroes' oppressive condition is perpetuated by the capitalist/monopolist class which is able to gain additional profit advantage from the super-exploitation of Negroes as a consequence of their deprivation of equal rights.

"More and more clearly the Negro freedom movement will draw anti-monopolist, anti-capitalist conclusions from its struggle experiences. The heavy proportion of working people to the total Negro population dictate such a course of development for the Negro freedom movement.

"What is more, capitalism in the U.S. has historically victimized the Negro American, even as capitalist-imperialism victimized his ancestral kinsmen of the African continent.

"From its earliest establishment in America, capitalism has been guilty of enriching its private fortunes out of the most savage robbery of the Negro people and the most ruthless exploitation of the labor power of Negro working people, both, during the era of chattle slavery, and, throughout the span of the century since emancipation.

JCS:kxb

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"Capitalism instituted the dreadful system of human slavery to translate 'the blood, toil and tears' of Negroes into personal profit and corporate capital and maintained it by terror and law and bestially savage social customs for over 300 years.

"The operation of the slave system in the U.S.A. then, like the discrimination system against Negroes now, were developments of capitalism and functions of this nefarious system of human exploitation for private profit-making.

"Notwithstanding all the disabilities and oppression -- the excluding and the denial, the segregation and the discrimination -- the Negro people are an integral part of this American nation.

"The Negro is an American and this United States is his native land.

"Other than the Indians, all Americans have ancestral origins abroad. Negro Americans' ancestors stemmed from Africa, from peoples who today are playing a great role in the world cause of emancipation from the bondage of colonialism and imperialism.

"To meet the challenge and utilize the opportunities to best advantage of the present phase in the struggle, the following should be given emphasis:

"The struggle of the Negro people for integration in the economic, political and social affairs of the nation on the basis of full equality with all other Americans is a struggle to enlarge democracy in the entire nation.

JCS:kxb

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"Negro Americans of all classes are compelled to enter into the struggle against racial discrimination and its social consequences. However, the fact that the Negro people are predominantly working class will increasingly influence the program and goals of the Negro people's movement, the strategy and tactics of the struggle, as well as assuring the permanent nature of the alliance with the organized labor movement. Indeed, labor and the Negro people are destined to march together in pursuit of a common future free of capitalist exploitation and capitalist racial oppression.

"Because of the high working class composition of the Negro people and the strength of the Negro workers in key areas of the economy, the freedom struggle of the Negro people presents itself as a vital front of the anti-monopoly struggle. It is geared into the tasks related to the fulfillment of the historic goal of the working class, that is, to effect the transformation of society from capitalist to socialist. The freedom objectives of the Negro people directly benefit the working class and serve the democratic interest of the whole nation.

"I. In the POLITICAL Sphere:

"The Negro people's fight to eliminate political discrimination is in essence A STRUGGLE FOR GENUINELY REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

"It entails full freedom to vote and to be voted for. The majority must be secure to exercise its right to the power in local political subdivisions -- precincts, wards, counties, Congressional Districts, Assembly Districts, etc. The minority must have the right to proportional representation at all levels of the three branches of government in the legislative,

JCS:kxb

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"administrative and judicial as well as an equal share of the police power.

"The struggle of the Negro people for full access to the political arena in the southern states and the northern ghettos is a struggle to oust the worst reactionaries, Dixiecrats, racists, warmongers, anti-labor servants of the monopolists from the Congress and from the state and local governing bodies, and to place in public office genuine representatives of the people drawn from the Negro people, the labor movement and the progressive forces generally.

"II. In the ECONOMIC Sphere:

"The struggle of the Negro people against economic discrimination is a major front in the real: WAR AGAINST POVERTY.

"It requires the trade union organization of the unorganized especially in the factories and the fields of the South.

"It necessitates the development of the economy in the South in particular and in the other areas of blight and poverty as well. The reconstruction of agriculture on a modern scientific basis and big expansion of industry in the southern region is required. The economic needs of the Negro people require a vast and countrywide program to wipe out the shame of the slums of the metropolitan centers and rural areas and to erect in their stead unsegregated, open-occupancy controlled low-rent, and low-cost housing, recreational facilities and playgrounds and parks as well as all necessary schools and hospital facilities.

JCS:kxb

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"Capital for the financing of such development programs which are needed to reduce the accumulated discrimination gap in the economic status of the Negro people must be supplied by the government out of the profit hoards of the monopolists and from the savings that would flow from a drastic reduction of the military appropriations.

"To secure the scale of an anti-poverty program needed to wipe out the economic discrimination and social deprivation of Negro Americans is to make an assault upon the profit grabbing of the corporations and the trusts, is to enter into struggle against monopoly capitalism.

"Keep an Eye to the Working Class Strata's Requirements and Needs on Policy Questions"

"Central to the solution of all problems that present themselves in the area of strategy and tactics for the Negro freedom movement is the necessity to establish the identity of the Negro people in terms of 1) their relation to the nation as a whole, and 2) their relation to the working class (whose destiny it is to lead the nation to its classless future). In this regard --

"1) Negroes are an integral part of the nation, though suffering special oppression and racial discrimination.

"2) The number of Negro capitalists are minimal and none are big capitalists; the middle class category are a small percentage of the total; the mass of the Negro people are of the working class.

JCS:kxb
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"The approach to all policy questions, to all matters of tactics and strategy in respect to the developing struggles of the Negro freedom movement must take into account the necessity that all policies and tactics need to correspond to both the immediate as well as long range interest on the basic numbers of the Negro people -- the working class majority.

"The Party's Leadership Role and Organization is a Need of the Freedom Movement"

"During the past decade the young generation especially of the Negro people have gained a wide experience with the CLASS nature of the capitalist STATE and how its police and court system defends its privileges and power. They have gained much experience in the matter of building organization, cultivating unity, reaching out to forge alliances with a wide strata of white people. They have, out of their experience, grown profoundly critical of the whole nature and structure of capitalist society. They seek a progressive alternative to capitalism. Our Party has the opportunity and duty to disclose the socialist alternative to the young generation, to bring to them the compass of science, of Marxism-Leninism to illumine their way, that they may take their rightful place in our Party, the better to give leadership to the masses in the struggle for freedom, equality and justice.

"Certain Current Facts and Figures Depicting the Extent of the Super-Exploitation of Negro Workers as a Consequence and as an Expression of the Oppression of the Negro People"

"A U.S. Bureau of Census study for 1964 showed:

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"Of the total U.S. population of 191.3 million, 10.9 percent or 20.8 million were Negro Americans.

"Currently 17.5% of all of the Nation's jobless are Negroes. The unemployment rate among Negroes being twice that among whites. 9% of the Negro work force is jobless as compared to 4.3% for whites.

"40.9% of Negro male workers have incomes of less than \$2,000 a year compared with 24.2% of white male workers. The median income of Negro men is half that of white men.

"74.4% of Negroes 25 or older have not finished high school compared with 49.8% of whites.

"27.8% of all persons arrested in the United States are Negroes. (Not more criminal, just more often arrested and victimized by the police-court system.)

"In his extraordinary speech at Howard University in Washington, D.C. last June 4th, President Johnson took note of the snails pace of progress that characterizes the economic progress of the Negro especially. 'The harsh fact of the matter,' he noted, 'is that, in the battle for true equality, too many Negroes are losing ground.' The wide disparity in status, the differences that still exist between Negroes and whites 'are solely and simply the consequence of ancient brutality, past injustice and present prejudice...For the Negro, they are a reminder of oppression. For the white, they are a reminder of guilt.'

"41.9% of Negro male workers are blue-collar workers, as against 36.4% of white male workers.

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"46.5% of white male workers are in the white-collar category as compared to the 18.4% of Negro male workers with white-collar jobs.

"Of the category of Service Workers, 31.4% of Negro men working are in this category, as against only 10.8% of the white males employed.

"6.3% of the white male working force are farm workers, and 8.3% of the Negro male workers are farm workers.

"In every category of employment Negroes are paid less than whites for equivalent work, for example:

"The life-time earnings of white teachers amount to \$256,000 on the average as against \$183,000 for Negro teachers.

"The life-time earnings of clerical workers are estimated at \$218,000 for a white worker as against \$162,000 for a Negro.

"The white carpenter earns \$190,000 in a life-time as compared to \$112,000 for a Negro carpenter.

"The life-time earnings of a white laborer amounts to \$157,000 as against \$105,000 for a Negro laborer."

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July 20, 21, 1965

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On August 16, 1965, HYMAN LUMER and CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT conferred regarding a statement to be released. LUMER proposed a statement reading as follows:

"Once again in the city of Los Angeles and to a lesser degree in Chicago and Springfield, Massachusetts, we witness eruptions of violence in Negro ghettos. And once again we witness the brutal ferocity, this time exceeding all previous bounds, with which these spontaneous protests among a frustrated and desperate people are put down.

"In Los Angeles, 2,500 National Guardsmen, in addition to local police and sheriff's deputies, have poured into the Watts area cheating and killing. At this moment 32 are dead, 26 of them Negroes. 762 are injured, nearly all of them Negroes. 2,225 have been arrested, all of them Negroes. The figures speak for themselves. It is the white Guardsmen and cops who are killing and wounding Negroes, not the other way around. This is the violence historically visited on the Negro people, the violence with which their efforts to secure the treatment due them as human beings has been all too often met. We cannot support rioting as a means of seeking redress of grievances, but we cannot condemn the rioters. Rather, we must condemn those responsible for the inhuman conditions which lead to these outbursts (compelled?) by human anguish. And no condemnation is strong enough for those who meet them by shooting people down in cold blood like animals. These explosions are a consequence of the inhuman poverty and mass unemployment to which the Negro residents of these unspeakable ghettos are subjected for the sake of the extra billions in profits extorted by the big corporations out of the Jim Crow oppression of the Negro.

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"They are a consequence of the fact that despite all the talk of a war on poverty, literally nothing has been done to relieve these conditions. While the Yortys, the Daleys and their like use the anti-Poverty program as a means of maneuvering for political patronage and power. In the Watts area more than 30 per cent are unemployed, according to even the official figures. In this and other ghetto areas, as Doctor Conant showed in his study some years ago, 60 to 70 per cent of Negro youth remain jobless. This is what must be remedied if these outbursts against the hunger, degradation and demoralization are to be ended. The policy of brutal repression must be ended at once. What is needed instead is a massive emergency program of jobs and assistance far exceeding the grossly inadequate sums now allotted. At this moment three hundred thousand dollars a day is being spent to maintain the murderous National Guard units in the Watts area. As a beginning the Guard should be removed and this sum spent instead for the relief of its victims. Further, the Watts community must be declared a disaster area and immediate relief provided to its inhabitants who are now unable to obtain food and other necessities of life. We call also for the establishment of appropriate Citizens Committee of Inquiry to investigate these situations and to make full reports with recommendations for drastic actions to remedy them. President Johnson has called for the cessation of violence. We agree. But we would urge that an appropriate beginning would be to punish the murderers of civil rights workers in the South, murderers who now kill with impunity and on whom not one day of punishment has been imposed. An appropriate beginning would be to end police brutality and the reign of the trigger-happy cops in

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"Negro communities. An appropriate beginning would be to end the war of aggression in Viet Nam and to use the money now wasted on armaments for a truly all out war on poverty. Above all, an end can be put to violence by abolishing the ghettos and by doing away with the oppression and segregation of human beings that so disgraces our country today."

LIGHTFOOT regarded it as excellent and suggested a press release in the name of the CP, USA, as well as publication in "The Worker".

LUMER thought it should be published over the names of GUS HALL, HENRY WINSTON and LIGHTFOOT, and LIGHTFOOT agreed, adding that it should be sent to every Party district, with a covering letter urging publication of it in leaflet form. LUMER agreed with this, then noted that JAMES JACKSON was insistent on deleting the wording, "We cannot support rioting as a means of seeking redress of grievances, but we cannot condemn the rioters," on the ground it gives way to racists. LIGHTFOOT said it could be deleted and argued about later.

LUMER also conferred with ROBERT THOMPSON about this statement, and THOMPSON suggested addition of a call for police review boards. LUMER noted that this statement was not to be released until the morning of August 17, 1965, and a conference for further discussion was arranged.

NY T-5
August 16, 1965

The following information was made available:

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"COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

"23 WEST 26th STREET NEW YORK 10, N.Y.
"MU 5-5755

"NEWS
FOR RELEASE

"FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
September 8, 1965

"'EVERY SLUM AND GHETTO A DISASTER AREA'
"GUS HALL DECLARES IN OPEN LETTER TO PRES. JOHNSON

"Warning that 'every slum and every ghetto of every city of America and many rural areas in the South is like a smoldering volcano, ready to erupt,' Gus Hall, leading U.S. Communist, declared in an open letter of September 7 to President Johnson, and added 'Unless the government recognizes the nature and magnitude of this crisis, and unless it takes adequate emergency measures to meet it, what happened in Harlem, Rochester and Philadelphia last year, and in Los Angeles a few weeks ago, are only forerunners of even graver things to come.'

"'What occurred in Los Angeles was no race riot,' Hall continued, 'It was a pent-up people's explosion against unbearable conditions -- bestial police brutality, mass unemployment (34 percent of Watts' people and more than 60 percent of its young people are jobless), abysmally low, sub-standard wages for those employed, and every form of discrimination and degradation.'

"Hall charged that 'Negro communities are being treated as if they were colonial zones of occupation' and that 'The Watts community was transformed into a battlefield in which people were shot down in the same

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"shameless fashion as is being done by American troops and planes in Viet Nam. In Los Angeles, of 36 killed, 33 were Negro; of 900 who were sent to hospitals, nearly all were Negro; and of the 4,200 arrested, every single one was Negro.'

"'When it comes to armaments and war, there is always plenty of money. But when it comes to really fighting poverty the government always starts to economize,' the Communist leader wrote 'the time for emergency action is now. Stop the war against the Viet Nam peoples! Spend billions for life, not death! Meet the emergency with an immediate reconstruction appropriation bill of no less than \$15 billion! Take firm measures to end the terror and violence directed at the Negro people in the South! Conduct a federal investigation of police brutality and of racist influence in our law-enforcing agencies.'

"The full text of Gus Hall's letter to President Johnson is attached.

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"An Open Letter to President Lyndon B. Johnson
by Gus Hall

"September 7, 1965

"To President Lyndon B. Johnson,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

"Dear Mr. President:

"You recently warned the nation that 'the Los Angeles riots were not an isolated incident.' You correctly observed that the same thing 'could occur in other cities where people feel they don't get a fair shake and where justice is not open to them.'

"But what is the Federal government going to do to give the people of our urban and rural slums and ghettos the fair shake and the justice of which you speak? That is the question, Mr. President.

"We know that a number of social legislative measures have been adopted by this session of Congress. There are gains for which the people fought for many years. But none of them individually, nor all of them collectively, can make any meaningful change in the terrible conditions of poverty in which so many millions of Americans find themselves.

"Every slum and every ghetto of every city of America and many rural areas in the South is like a smoldering volcano, ready to erupt. Unless the government recognizes the nature and magnitude of this crisis, and unless it takes adequate emergency measures

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"to meet it, what happened in Harlem, Rochester, and Philadelphia last year, and in Los Angeles a few weeks ago, are only forerunners of even graver things to come.

"What occurred in Los Angeles was no race riot. It was a pent-up people's explosion against unbearable conditions -- bestial police brutality, mass unemployment (34 per cent of Watts' people and more than 60 per cent of its young people are jobless), abysmally low, sub-standard wages for those employed, and every form of discrimination and degradation.

"At the time of the tragic events in Los Angeles, Mr. President, you poured salt on the wounds of the oppressed by holding them responsible for violence and by preaching to them patience and respect for law and order. And you once again promised them that 'we shall overcome.'

"How can there be respect for law and order, when the men sworn to uphold it have no respect for it themselves -- when the law and order they preach is an acceptance of unbearable and humiliating conditions of life? Why, Mr. President, have you done nothing to halt the repeated cold-blooded murders of civil rights workers and Negro people in the South? Why has the Department of Justice been sitting on its hands? Either the government will protect the lives of people or they shall be compelled to resort to measures of self-defense.

"Why, Mr. President, have you not condemned police brutality and the fact that Negro communities are being treated as if they were colonial zones of occupation? The Watts community was transformed into a battlefield in which people were shot down in the

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"same shameless fashion as is being done by American troops and planes in Viet Nam. In Los Angeles of 36 killed, 33 were Negro; of 900 who were sent to hospitals, nearly all were Negro; and of the 4,200 arrested, every single one was Negro.

"For nearly two years, Mr. President, you have been promising an all-out war against poverty. This much-heralded war has not even been a skirmish. A few million dollars have been appropriated to fight poverty and for public works. Yet \$60 million a year is spent to add to our military power to over-kill. And now that you have escalated the war against the peoples of Viet Nam you are asking for billions upon billions more for this dirty war. You have just announced a cut-back of nine billion dollars a year in domestic spending in order to finance the slaughter of innocent Vietnamese. Thus the all-out war against poverty at home has been replaced by an all-out war against poor peoples eight thousand miles from our shores.

"Yet the conditions in our slums and ghettos continue to deteriorate. Our nation's poor, Negro and white, are worse off today than when the so-called anti-poverty program started.

"This is the sorry picture of American capitalism. Mountains of wealth at one extreme of society and valleys of abject poverty at the other! And we were promised a 'Great Society!'

"A year ago, at the time of the Harlem upheaval, the Communist Party put forth an emergency program to really end ghettos and to fight poverty. The most important plank of this program called for the

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"immediate appropriation of no less than \$15 billion a year as a special reconstruction fund to rebuild our slums.

"Only a federal expenditure of this magnitude can even begin to tackle the immense task of tearing down slums, of renovating old structures and building new low rental housing units, of constructing new schools and technical and scientific training centers, and of building cultural and recreational facilities, especially for children and young people.

"When it comes to armaments and war there is always plenty of money. But when it comes to really fighting poverty the government always starts to economize.

"This is a rich country. The huge corporations have never had it so good. Since 1961, net corporate profits have skyrocketed by no less than 68 per cent. Yet their swollen profits come from the people's labor. Much of it comes directly from the system of discrimination. The insurance companies and banks are the largest slum-lords of the nation.

"The Federal Government has declared the Watts community of Los Angeles a disaster area to receive immediate emergency funds for reconstruction and jobs. This is not enough. Every slum and ghetto must be declared a disaster area. We dare not wait until these are burned to the ground by the fire of an oppressed people's anger and resentment. We must have a national emergency plan to reconstruct every ghetto and slum in America to provide its peoples with employment at living wages and with decent low-rental housing.

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"If a natural disaster were to sweep over our land we would act with haste and resolution. We would raise whatever funds were needed to meet the disaster. We can do no less in face of the disastrous conditions under which people live in the slums of America.

"There is no time to lose. The answer is not in enlarging our police force of FBI. It is not in a policy of 'getting tough.' It is not in a policy of preaching patience or using anti-poverty funds to buy off ghetto leaders in exchange for 'pacifying' their communities. Such are the policies of imperialist powers to control rebellious native peoples. It is doomed to failure in our foreign policy. It can never work in our treatment of the oppressed minority peoples within the country.

"Mr. President, I address this open letter to you because the time for emergency action is now. Stop the war against the Vietnam peoples! Spend billions for life, not death! Meet the emergency with an immediate reconstruction appropriation bill of no less than \$15 billion! Take firm measures to end the terror and violence directed at the Negro people in the South! Conduct a federal investigation of police brutality and of racist influence in our law-enforcing agencies!

"These are the demands not only of Negro Americans but of millions of white Americans as well. To end slums, to fight poverty, to reconstruct our cities, -- these are in the interests of the entire American people and are the kind of anti-depression measures that are in the best interests of the nation and of world peace.

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now! "The time to 'overcome,' Mr. President, is

"Very truly yours,

"/signed/ Gus Hall"

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September 13, 1965

NY T-7
September 13, 1965

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2. Plans, Strategy Made at
District and Lower Level
Meetings of the Party

On August 20, 1965, a meeting of the 11th A.D. Club of the CP was held at 555 Edgecombe Avenue, New York City. During the course of the meeting, [redacted] asked each member for an opinion concerning the recent riot in Los Angeles. [redacted] stated that the plight of the Negro people has been deplorable for many years. He said that Negroes in Los Angeles are caught in a ghetto and that there are no roads leading out. Continuing, he stated that this tension, plus the police brutality, plus being jobless made them second class citizens. He said that the Negroes of Los Angeles took the line of least resistance against the white power structure which kept them contained in the black ghetto and then used what means at hand to show their resentment. He said that Los Angeles had been seething with resentment due to two Black Muslims who were killed there several years ago.

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[redacted] stated that the Negroes in Los Angeles over the past years have been oppressed and frustrated in their efforts to break out of the black ghetto and very little effort made to improve his personal position.

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[redacted] stated that it was ironic that the Negroes in Los Angeles did the most damage to himself, his community; he stated this was not a civil rights demonstration but a case of tempers being fanned with violence exploding.

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[redacted] said that stepped up action must follow to stop the war in Viet Nam and bring the troops home to stand guard in Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana where they are needed to protect the rights of the Negroes.

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NY T-8
September 1, 1965

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On August 23, 1965, a CP, USA, New York District Board meeting was held at the Hotel Martinique, New York City. At this meeting, BOB THOMPSON discussed the riots which took place in Los Angeles, and his discussion was generally a review of the news taken from the local newspapers. He attempted to tie in the riots in Los Angeles with the Viet Nam situation and also with the racial disturbances which took place in Harlem last year. He stated that the riots in Los Angeles were more severe in that the police and the National Guard used machine guns and rifles and in Harlem the police used their revolvers but shot in the air and not at the people.

He stated that the Government should be concerned with the poverty program at home instead of sending troops to Viet Nam. According to THOMPSON, very little is being done by the Government in the anti-poverty program, and, therefore, the Party should sharpen up this issue. In Los Angeles, the Negro organizations are divided and do not have any strong leadership. He stated that MARTIN LUTHER KING, although an outsider, has a good position in this area.

[redacted] stated that the Negro people are divided. She said that a few feel that non-violence is outdated and that the only way they can gain anything is to spill blood. She disagreed with THOMPSON and stated that quite a few of the Negro people in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant have criticized MARTIN LUTHER KING and are not supporting him strongly.

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MIKE DAVIDOW seemed to agree with [redacted]. DAVIDOW said that he had been to Harlem recently, and it was his opinion that although on the surface it was peaceful, the underlying currents in the area made the situation tense since the Negroes did not like to have white men in the neighborhood.

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DANNY RUBEL commented that there is no Negro leadership in the CP which can go into Bedford-Stuyvesant and Harlem areas and discuss the issues with the people. BOB THOMPSON remarked that the Party will have to use what they have at present time to get their points across to the masses.

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(2)

MIKE DAVIDOW mentioned that the Party ought to open headquarters in Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant and other places throughout the city. This way, he stated, the Party would be able to get ideas to the people and let them know exactly what the Party's line is. He stated that "we" are blamed for a lot of things which we have not said or done; therefore, we might just as well open Party headquarters throughout the city and tell the people what "we" have to offer.

NY T- 15
August 24, 1965

On August 30, 1965, a CP, USA, New York District Board meeting was held at the Henry Hudson Hotel in New York City. At this meeting, BOB THOMPSON spoke about the National Convention, and he stated that the Party would hold it either at the end of February or the first of March of next year. The place where the convention is to be held has not been settled, and he said that there is a lot of work to be conducted between now and then. THOMPSON stated that within the next three months preconvention meetings of both state and county are to be held. THOMPSON mentioned that the drafts on the following programs have to be drawn up: Political Activities, Negro Work, Trade Unionism, Education and a Party Program. THOMPSON stated that the District would consider the appointment of delegates to the District Convention with respect to the work which has to be done on the programs.

NY T-15
September 7, 1965

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3. Plans as Revealed in
Party Publications

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper.

"The Worker" of July 20, 1965, contains an editorial captioned "Johnson's Emergency." In this editorial it is stated that the JOHNSON Administration is getting ready to declare a national emergency against the desires of the American people in order to round up young and middle aged Americans by the tens of thousands for the "slaughterhouse" which is now Viet Nam. It was stated that if President JOHNSON is concerned with emergencies he need look no further than Bogalusa, Louisiana, Anniston, Alabama, Selma, Alabama, Philadelphia, Mississippi, New York City, and Chicago, where there is racial strife. It was stated that if the President wants to declare an emergency now, let him do it within our own boundaries. Bring back the troops from Viet Nam and deploy them against the enemies of democracy in our country.

"The Worker" of August 15, 1965 contains an editorial captioned "Civil Rights and Peace" in which it was indicated that there is a growing merger of the fighting forces for Negro freedom, the forces of the "Civil Rights Revolution" and those who have been advocating an end to war and cold-war policies in the Government's conduct of foreign affairs. It was stated that victory in the cause of peace in Viet Nam requires that these forces combine their fight for particular needs with the universal general requirement of the fight for an end to the war in Viet Nam. It was also stated that as the Negro freedom movement has

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come to recognize this truth so must the trade union movement enter the struggle for an end of the war in Viet Nam.

"The Worker" of August 22, 1965, contains an article captioned "Los Angeles CP Calls for Negro Aid Program" in which was stated that the CP of Southern California called for immediate allocation of funds to provide jobs for the unemployed in the Negro ghetto in Los Angeles. It also demanded a civilian inquiry into the living conditions of the Negro people and a citizens' review board over the police. The Party in a public statement accused Mayor SAMUEL W. YORTY and Chief of Police WILLIAM PARKER of being responsible for the death toll in Los Angeles. It also accused the police of brutality in the Watts section of Los Angeles.

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NY 100-153735

1.
Progressive Labor Party (PLP)

Source: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] gave a voluntary signed statement to Special Agents (SAs) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) on June 17, 1965.

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In this statement source advised that the PLP encourages discontented groups to protest housing issues with rent strikes. The PLP stirs up such groups in Harlem, students, Puerto Ricans in New York City, and minority groups on the west coast and also trade unionists.

Source also stated that the Harlem Defense Council (HDC) was organized in June, 1964 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Block defense committees or councils were to be set up to free arrested individuals from the arresting police officers.

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Source also advised she was sure that the HDC obtained money from the PLP for its organization.



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Characterizations of the PLP and HDC appear in the appendix hereto.

A source advised on September 13, 1965, that on Saturday, September 11, 1965, at 2:30 p.m. a PLP petition rally for the Senatorial campaign of [REDACTED] was held at Broadway and West 109th Street, New York City.

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About 12 people from the PLP were present and a table was set up near the corner of West 110th Street and Broadway. The PLP individuals began to solicit signatures for [] campaign. Several persons gave speeches in Spanish in which the United States Government was attacked for its action in Santo Domingo, Cuba and Viet Nam. One of the speakers also spoke about police brutality in the United States.

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At 2:00 p.m. a second rally was held at 104th Street and Broadway, New York City. The crowd at this point was larger and there were police present. One of the speakers, again speaking in Spanish, urged the American government to get out of Santo Domingo and Viet Nam, and he blamed the actions of the United States Government representatives in Santo Domingo and government officials in Washington, D. C. for the killings in Santo Domingo. One of the speakers, who was a white American male, claimed to have been in Cuba. At no point at this rally was there any mention about the [] campaign. There were many Cubans from the neighborhood present, who violently disagreed with the speaker. They booed and heckled the speaker and told him to go back to Russia. The Cubans made it very difficult for the speakers to proceed with their talk. The PLP group at this point had enlarged to about 30 in number and the heckling between the PLP group and the Cubans became more abusive. The PLP speaker, who was using a battery operated microphone on a ladder, was told by the Cubans to come down and fight. More policemen had arrived at this time to maintain order of the crowd of approximately 100 people. Eggs and tomatoes were thrown and fist fights were taking place. The speaker from the PLP group told the police that one of the individuals, who had been throwing tomatoes had gone into a nearby building. The police went to this building and arrested the man along with another man, who was coming from the building carrying a baseball bat. The PLP group

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NY 100-153737

group then challenged the Cubans in the crowd to come to 109th Street and Columbus Avenue if they wanted to continue the fight. A female was injured at this point but the cause of injury was not known.

The PLP group then proceeded to Columbus Avenue and West 109th Street and again set up their battery operated microphone. The speaker then told the people present that they had just been attacked by a group of Cubans and he asked the crowd to be prepared. The Cubans then arrived in two separate groups. The first group about ten in number arrived but apparently realized there were too many Dominican supporters present. Some moments later, a larger group of Cubans arrived, about 25 in number, who evidently came from the nearby subway exit. The numerous policemen and detectives present saw the possibility of trouble and prevented the groups from converging on one another. There was much yelling back and forth between the group and some rocks were thrown by the Cubans from a nearby building. The policemen then started to disperse the group. A white male from the PLP group was arrested and placed in a police car. Four or five pieces of wood were then hurled from a building. Two of the detectives were injured by these pieces of wood. The crowd yelled at the police and called them criminals. One of the policemen then pointed his revolver into the air and fired at least two shots, for the purpose of scaring the crowd. The policemen went into the building from which the wood was thrown and may have arrested one man. The police, about 60 in number, then broke up the meeting at about 4:00 p.m.

The source advised that in his opinion it appeared that the PLP's interest in this activity was not sincere

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NY 100-153737

election campaign but was to create a disturbance by exciting the Cubans in the crowd against the Dominicans.

NY 100-45
September 13, 1965

On September 11, 1965, Detective [redacted] Bureau of Special Services (BSS), New York City Police Department (NYCPD) advised that among the speakers at the above-described street meetings were [redacted]. He advised that at 104th Street and Broadway and at 109th Street and Columbus Avenue, many inflammatory statements were made by the speakers against the Cuban refugees in the crowd, including calling them prostitutes, who stole from CASTRO and fled to the United States. At 109th Street and Columbus Avenue the fights, including egg throwing, became so numerous that the NYCPD requested that the rally be terminated. [redacted] refused to disband and was, therefore, arrested for disorderly conduct and placed in a patrol car. While [redacted] was in the car, several pieces of lumber spiked with nails were hurled at detectives from a roof top at the south corner of 109th Street and Columbus Avenue, injuring three detectives. According to [redacted] expressed satisfaction over his arrest and in one of the speeches, declared himself to be a Communist. [redacted] advised that [redacted] was taken to night court and was released on \$500.00 bail.

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Detective [redacted] advised that in his opinion the PLP was attempting to create a conflict between anti-CASTRO Cubans residing in the area and the Dominicans who were present.

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Socialist Workers Party (SWP)

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

At a membership meeting of the SWP - New York Local (NYL), held June 17, 1965, the educational portion of the meeting was devoted to the Negro resolution to be presented at a forthcoming National Convention. It was stated that the SWP line remained basically unchanged from that established at the convention of 1963. It was noted that the Negro struggle was becoming extremely militant and the SWP had observed MALCOLM X develop his organization, the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) from religious and separatist to militant internationalism. It was the belief of the SWP that MALCOLM X, just before his death, was turning toward the ideology of revolutionary socialism. It was stated that the SWP was finding more acceptance in Harlem and that it had contacts among the sympathizers of MALCOLM X and the OAAU.

The Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC) was also discussed at the meeting on June 17, 1965, and the opinion expressed that there was a cleavage in the organization. It was said the more militant members of SNCC had ideas which they obtained from two sources, MALCOLM X's writings and "The Militant". It was claimed that "The Militant" had been the instrument for spreading the SWP's ideas and it was read by young radicals in the South, students and the Negro Ghetto.

NY T- 41
June 28, 1965

NY 100-153735

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In the issue of "The Militant", dated June 21, 1965, it was set forth that CLIFTON DE BERRY, the SWP candidate for Mayor of New York City, spoke at a public forum organized by the OAAU, at the Hotel Theresa, in Harlem, on June 13, 1965. DE BERRY was quoted as saying that racism would exist as long as capitalism existed.

On June 30, 1965, it was noted that "The Militant", which had formerly been readily available at the Headquarters of the OAAU in New York, was no longer being seen at this location.

NY T- 42
June 30, 1965

At a membership meeting of the SWP - NYL, held July 1, 1965, discussion on the Negro resolution was continued. One member said that the purpose of the SWP was not to become involved in the civil rights struggle along with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and such "reformist" organizations, but to concentrate on bringing about the American revolution by developing its own line.

Following the discussion, CLIFTON DE BERRY summarized, stating that the SWP had increased its contacts in Harlem and improved sales of "The Militant" there. He said the task of the SWP was to build a "black cadre", composed of Negroes from the ghetto. The goal was to turn these people into socialists and commit them to the struggle to bring about the American revolution. DE BERRY also commented on this occasion that the OAAU was finished as an organization.

NY T- 41
July 12, 1965

NY 100-153735

GPB:lls

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At a membership meeting of the SWP - NYL, held August 19, 1965, there was further discussion of the opportunity for the SWP in the Negro civil rights field. It was stated that SNCC and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) were the only civil rights organizations from which there was a possibility for SWP recruitment. SNCC, because it was opposed to the conservatism of MARTIN LUTHER KING, and the MFDP, because there was a move within it to break with the Democratic Party.

It was also reported at this meeting that there were 537 individuals in Harlem who subscribed to "The Militant" and the SWP was hopeful of eventually establishing a bookstore there.

NY T-41
August 25, 1965

By the end of August, 1965, relationship between the SWP and the followers of the late MALCOLM X had seriously deteriorated. It appeared to the SWP that the leadership of the OAAU had become less militant and that it could no longer hope for assistance from this source to attain SWP objectives in the Negro field.

NY T-41
August 26, 1965

In "The Militant", September 6, 1965, an article was printed on Page 1, headed "Meaning of the Los Angeles Ghetto Rebellion". This set forth that the rioting in the community of Watts was a "colossal landmark in the self-assertion of black Americans". It described the Watts uprising as a protest against

NY 100-153735

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"the caste system maintained by the money masters of America, which denies (Negroes) the necessities of life, any just share in the nation's wealth, the rights of United States citizens, and the dignity of human beings".

It was further set forth that the Los Angeles uprising was on a "higher level" than the actions in Harlem the previous summer. This was because "an entire community took the offensive against the existing order and could not be quelled without the National Guard". "The Militant" predicted that this type of protest would happen again and it would be necessary for federal occupation troops to occupy principal cities of the United States.

The article went on to say that it was unfortunate that the Los Angeles rebels lack a centralized co-ordinated organization and authoritative leadership which could effectively orient their resistance. It was also set forth that the SWP was proud that at the height of the Watts conflict, its members joined in picketing before the central police station in Los Angeles, with demands that the police and troops be withdrawn.

An editorial was also printed in "The Militant" of September 6, 1965, setting forth in general that the Watts Negroes were fully justified in their actions, while the forces used to suppress them were not. The editorial recommended that the "Racist Capitalist System" be opposed by independent Negro political power.

At the national convention of the SWP, held at the Hotel Empire in New York City, September 13-16, 1965, the Negro resolution was presented and discussed. SWP leaders analyzed the role of the SWP as encouraging Negro independent political action and opposing current

NY 100-153735

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Negro leadership. The Party was to remain essentially propagandistic in its policy, however, and its program would be carefully planned and centrally coordinated with the goal of turning the Negro protest movement from gradualism to pro-socialism.

NY T- 41
September 13, 1965

It was stated by other speakers at the convention that the problems of Negroes in various communities could best be handled on an individual basis by SWP members, giving constructive assistance wherever they could. The value of "The Militant" was recognized as valuable in getting the SWP recognized as an ally of the "black vanguard". The SWP members were urged to work hard with the "black radicals" or these Negroes would find leadership elsewhere. It was also said there were good possibilities for recruiting Negro youth for work in the anti-war movement.

NY T- 43
September 13, 1965

NY 100-153735

3. WORKERS WORLD PARTY (WWP)

At a New York Workers World Party (WWP) branch meeting on July 16, 1965 at 46 West 21st Street, New York City, [redacted] announced that the YAWF would picket the Crown-Zellerbach Corporation on July 19, 1965 to show support for the Deacons of Defense and Justice in Bogalusa, Louisiana, who have every right to act in their self-defense. It was decided to picket the Crown-Zellerbach Corporation as this firm is said to be the principal employer of workers in Bogalusa. b6 b7C

NY T - 10
July 19, 1965

A characterization of the WWP appears in the appendix hereto.

At a branch meeting of the New York WWP on August 13, 1965 at 46 West 21st Street, New York City, it was announced that a telegram had been sent to the Governor of California protesting brutality in the Negro community and the invasion of homes by the police and National Guard.

NY T - 10
August 18, 1965

The March 11, 1965 issue of "Workers World" contained an article entitled, "In Selma, Bronxville and Viet Nam, The Enemy is the Same," which stated that the United States Marines in Viet Nam are trying to impose the same system under which the black people are living in the United States. The article stated that the United States Government will send troops to the South only when it is afraid that white racists will be killed and when the black people are on the road of true liberation. The Government will also send troops when it is apparent that the "black masses" are going to organize in armed self-defense.

A characterization of the "Workers World" appears in the appendix hereto.

The June 24, 1965 issue of the "Workers World" contains

NY 100-153735

an article entitled, "Mississippi Terror Rages On," which claims that "black people in the South continue to be arrested violently." The article concluded with the following paragraph:

"Southern racism, whether the segregationism of state legislation or the open terror of police brutality and Klan violence, continues unabated, except where the Black People have organized to defend themselves against it."

Ku Klux Klan has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The July 15, 1965 issue of the "Workers World", headlined "U.S. Youth Want to Fight for Black Freedom in Bogalusa - Not U.S. Colonialism in Viet Nam!". This article praised the actions of the Deacons for Defense and Justice in defending themselves in Bogalusa, Louisiana, and claimed that the struggle for civil rights and the organized self-defense of the black people are deeply allied to the defense of revolutionary Viet Nam against the United States.

The July 29, 1965 issue of the "Workers World" contained an article entitled, "Bogalusa Masses Not Favored By Small Concessions, La. Officials Fail to Stop Black Self-Defense." The article stated that although local authorities in Louisiana, assisted by Federal authorities, were trying to crush the Deacons for Defense and Justice, the active self-defense unit, they have been unable to do so. The article indicated that as a result of the actions by the Deacons for Defense and Justice, harassment and brutality have been cut down 90% in Bogalusa.

The August 26, 1965 issue of "Workers World" contained an article entitled, "Party Hails the Insurrection as Sign of Coming Emancipation." This article stated that on August 17, 1965 SAM MARCY, Chairman of the WWP, had hailed the rebellion of the black people of Los Angeles as a genuine revolutionary upsurge and a sure sign of the coming black emancipation. Condemning the Los Angeles police and California National Guard and calling for a workers solidarity with the black insurrection, MARCY made the following statement in the name of the WWP:

"When people rise up and face machine guns with fists and sidearms, they are telling the world that they are finished

NY 100-153735

with the old system. They are ready to die rather than live in the old way any longer. The Watts Insurrection proves that the struggle for black emancipation has reached a new and higher level and its ultimate victory is certain.

"The Workers World Party calls upon all friends of Black Freedom to rally to the cause of the embittered black masses of Los Angeles, to condemn their oppressors and to avenge the murder of their comrades-in-arms. We denounce the imprisonment of 3,000 innocent people and demand their immediate release."

The last paragraph of this article stated that the black masses are now determined to win freedom, whatever the cost, and the Workers World Party supports them without reservation.

JCS:kxb

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NY 100-153735

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

1. Demonstration by West Side Unified Action Committee at 73rd Street and Broadway, New York City, on August 4, 1965

The West Side Unified Action Committee (WUAC), formerly West Side Committee on Racial Equality, held a protest rally on August 4, 1965, from 82nd Street to 73rd Street on Broadway, New York, New York. The rally was held in protest of a recent grand jury decision exonerating Patrolman LEIBOWITZ of the New York City Police Department (NYCPD) in a recent shooting of NELSON ERBY, deceased.

After a short march, a speakers' platform was set up around 73rd Street. Signs reading "End Police Brutality" and "New York is Like Viet Nam Killing" were carried. Speakers were heckled by onlookers. The demonstrators, about forty in number including ten about eight to twelve years of age, tried to remove the hecklers and an altercation ensued. Two demonstrators were arrested and taken to the 20th Precinct, NYCPD, where the WCUA began picketing from 8:30 PM to 9:00 PM. No further incidents occurred.

NY T-9
August 5, 1965

NYCPD arrested the following:

[redacted] white male, [redacted] of age,
residence [redacted] Brooklyn, New York, and
[redacted] white male, [redacted] of age, residence
[redacted] New York, New York.

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Detective [redacted] NYCPD
August 5, 1965

NY 100-153735

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1. CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

The Congress of Racial Equality will be referred to as CORE in this report unless reference is being made to a chapter of CORE. The designation then will be preceded by the name of the chapter.

Proposed Plans and Activities

On September 29, 1965, [redacted] CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund (SEDF), 150 Nassau Street, New York, New York, advised SA [redacted] that the new direction given to CORE activity in the civil rights field in the past year, namely, toward community organization, political action and voter registration, is still being implemented. He said that working through community organizations is difficult and the progress is slow. He stated a specific example of a community organization actively supported by CORE locally is the Brooklyn Freedom Democratic Movement (BFDM) in which [redacted] the BFDM, was also [redacted] Brooklyn CORE. He stated that CORE supported the candidacy of [redacted]

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Mr. [redacted] stated it is difficult to define the yardstick by which CORE assesses a candidate for endorsement by its organization. He stated that ordinarily it will endorse a candidate whose policies most closely fit the major activities of CORE. On the other hand, the community involved would be a factor in its endorsement of a political candidate. If, for example, a candidate was running for an office in a southern community, CORE might there overlook the candidate's basic disagreement with CORE's policies, and endorse him as "less objectionable" than his opponent.

NY 100-153735

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Mr. [] stated that another area of CORE activity at the present time is voter registration in the South. He said that noticeable gains have been made in the registration of qualified Negroes in southern communities; however, the results achieved thus far still constitute only "a drop in the bucket" in comparison to the total Negro population in those areas. According to Mr. [] the work is continuing and it is hoped that a greater number of Negro voters will come to the polls to vote at election time.

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Mr. [] stated that CORE SEDF is entirely independent of National CORE, having its own board of directors and own separate staff. He stated that [] CORE SEDF, occupies the highest position in the organization. A brochure issued by CORE SEDF states that the organization is a non-profit organization and donations to CORE SEDF are tax deductible.

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Mr. [] stated that over the past year CORE SEDF has made expenditures in the amounts shown below for various projects:

\$48,000 for Scholarships to deserving individuals.

\$44,000 for Legal Defense in civil rights cases.

\$25,000 for voter registration.

\$36,000 on Fellowships (for independent and specific work in the civil rights field).

NY 100-153735

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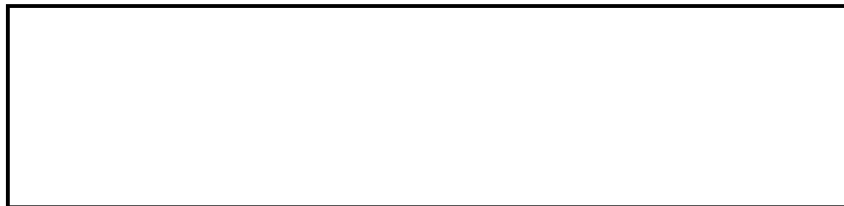
Location

On September 29, 1965, [redacted] previously mentioned, advised SA [redacted] that CORE's national offices are located at 38 Park Row, New York, New York, and that CORE SEDF is located at 150 Nassau Street, New York City.

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Officers

On September 29, 1965, [redacted] advised the national officers of CORE are:



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STATEN ISLAND CORE (S.I. CORE) CHAPTER

Location

S.I. CORE is scheduled to hold its meetings on the first and third Tuesdays of the month at the Markham Community Center, Markham Housing Project, Broadway and Richmond Terrace, Staten Island, New York, but this schedule is not strictly adhered to. From time to time, a meeting of one of the committees, such as the officers of S.I. CORE, will hold a meeting separate and apart from the scheduled meetings of S.I. CORE.

NY T- 25
September 24, 1965

NY 100-153735

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Officers

At a meeting of S.I. CORE, which was held on July 14, 1965, the following officers were elected for 1965-1966:



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NY T-26
July 16, 1965

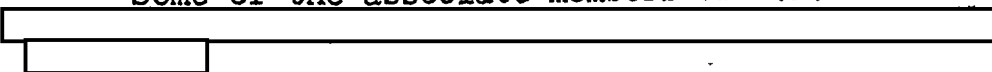
NY T- 25
July 21, 1965

S.I. CORE has total membership of 625 individuals which includes associates who are members in name only, but who joined S.I. CORE in order to assist it in its activities by paying \$3.00 yearly dues, which is the dues assessment for both active and associate members.

There are about 18 members in S.I. CORE.

Some of the associate members of S.I. CORE

are
and



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NY T- 25
October 4, 1965

NY 100-153735

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Activities of S.I. CORE

[redacted] were present at a meeting of S.I. CORE, which was held on June 16, 1965, at Markham Community Center, Staten Island, New York. At this meeting, [redacted] raised the issue of "more involvement" by civil rights groups and CORE in "peace movements" concerned with Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, and disarmament issues, but was ruled out of order by the chairman of the meeting.

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NY T-25
June 22, 1965

[redacted] attended meetings of S.I. CORE, which were held on July 14, 1965, and July 21, 1965, at Markham Community Center, Staten Island, New York.

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NY T-26
July 16, 1965
July 26, 1965

NY T- 25
July 21, 1965
July 23, 1965

At the S.I. CORE meeting, which was held on July 21, 1965, [redacted] attempted to persuade S.I. CORE "to join hands" with the "Staten Islanders for Peace".

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NY T-26
July 26, 1965

On September 1, 1965, [redacted] attended a regular meeting of S.I. CORE, which was held at the Markham Community Center, Staten Island, New York. Source stated that [redacted] had become very active in S.I. CORE, since [redacted]

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NY T-26
September 9, 1965

NY 100-153735

WHB:lls

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a member of S.I. CORE, is interested in securing a Committee Chairmanship for herself, concerning CORE's implementation of the Anti-Poverty Program in the Staten Island, New York area.

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NY T-25
October 4, 1965

NY 100-153735

2. NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

Address

The current Manhattan Telephone Directory reflects that the address for the National Office of the NAACP continues to be 20 West 40th Street, New York City.

Communist Party (CP) Attempts to Infiltrate

During April, 1965, a meeting was held between leading CP individuals in the Chicago area to discuss a forthcoming NAACP Convention scheduled to be held in Denver, Colorado in June, 1965. At this meeting it was stated that it was essential that Party activity in connection with this Convention must be directed to the area of voting rights and registration. It was further stated that in the South emphasis must be placed on greater voting registration and Negro representation, while in the North emphasis must be placed on increasing quality of Negro representation. It was also stated that it may not be necessary to introduce resolutions as such at this Convention; however, the Party must be alert to amend or institute discussion on ideas presented at this Convention which come within the framework of voting rights and registration.

NY T-24
April 21, 1965

NY 100-153735

During the latter part of April, 1965, a discussion was held between two Communist Party members who are active in the affairs of the NAACP concerning the forthcoming National Convention of the NAACP scheduled to be held in Denver, Colorado, in June, 1965. During this discussion it was stated a decision must be arrived upon concerning certain issues to be brought forth at the NAACP Convention. Among the issues discussed were the following:

1) The question of vote -- During the discussion, it was reiterated that the decision set down by leading Communist Party forces must be followed, namely, that there must be increased voter registration in the South and the Party must strive to improve the quality of representation in the North. It was stated that the National Office of the NAACP now appears to be ready to assert additional influence in the political action field; therefore, the Party forces at the Convention should explore the possibility of trying to commit the convention to a much broader policy for actively participating in election campaigns.

2) Foreign affairs -- a discussion was held on the current Viet Nam and African crises; however, it was decided that this problem must be set aside until it is determined what forces are available at the Convention and who would be in a position to submit such resolutions. It was felt that known Party forces at the Convention could not present such resolutions.

3) Domestic -- A discussion was held concerning the establishment of multiple branches of the NAACP throughout the United States. It was stated that this plan was tried in Texas and California and has been apparently successful. Also, it was learned that the Chicago NAACP is against this plan and hopes to present a resolution to reject this plan. If such a plan is passed,

NY 100-153735

the Chicago Branch would be broken down into five or six smaller branches. During this discussion, it was felt that should the multiple branch plan be accepted, it would bring about greater membership participation and in this way it was also felt that Party forces could function more effectively in multiple branches. It was therefore, decided that all efforts should be made to back any resolution in favor of the multiple branch policy.

NY T- 24
May 3, 1965

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, a leading functionary of the CP of Illinois, and head of the National Negro Commission, CP, USA, stated in June, 1965, that he would attend the National Convention of the NAACP to be held in Denver, Colorado, June 28, 1965 to July 3, 1965.

NY T- 4
June 17, 1965

A meeting of top functionaries of the CP, USA was held in June, 1965 at CP Headquarters in New York City.

At the meeting CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT referred to the coming convention of the NAACP and stated that "we" must work to have a resolution put in that will allow "us" to work within that organization. As it now stands, he said that "we" can't work with them with the anti-communist resolution. This resolution must be repealed.

NY T- 1
June 10, 1965

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT was present at Denver, Colorado during the week of June 28 through July 3, 1965 at which time the National Convention of the NAACP was held.

NY 100-453735

LIGHTFOOT took with him from Chicago to Denver several hundred copies of "The Worker" and a number of pamphlets on colonialism. He later indicated these items were distributed by Denver CP people. He was able to obtain a press badge and was observed in and about the convention on several occasions.

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper.

Prior to the Convention, LIGHTFOOT directed a CP of Illinois member, who is active in the affairs of the NAACP, to attend this convention. LIGHTFOOT suggested that they not set up a CP caucus in the true sense but he proposed to set up a group of several CP members and several persons progressive and/or sympathetic to the CP. This was done and this "group" met on three occasions during the convention. They discussed strategy in regard to defeating the Chicago Branch resolution to reject the plan of multiple branches; support for the Mississippi Democratic Freedom Party and, last, the injection of the peace issue. They were successful in the first two endeavors mainly through pressures exerted as individuals on various officers but were soundly beaten on the peace issue.

LIGHTFOOT met with various individuals from time to time to keep abreast of convention activities but did not participate as such in any discussions of the "group". He had private conversations with known CP members on several occasions.

NY T-24
July 5, 1965

NY 100- 153735

On August 2, 1965, a CP,USA New York District Board meeting was held at 575 6th Avenue, Room 602, New York City. At the meeting CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT reported on the NAACP Convention and stated that this Convention of the NAACP, according to Party standards, was not as good as previous ones. LIGHTFOOT stated that the NAACP is dragging its feet in regards to the civil rights question. He stated that he was disappointed that the NAACP Convention did not support a peace proposal and did not ask for a withdrawal of American troops from Viet Nam. He stated that there was some red-baiting, in fact, more at this Convention than at other Conventions that he had recently attended.

LIGHTFOOT stated that one of the good points in regards to the Convention was that the Party people were better organized this time than they had been before.

NY T- 15
August 3, 1965

RFM: blc
NY 100-153735

3. NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL (NALC)

The Negro American Labor Council will be referred to in this report as the NALC. The Greater New York Chapter of the NALC will be referred to as the NYNALC, and The Communist Party, USA as the CP.

In July 1959 more than 75 Negro Trade Union leaders met in New York to explore the possibility of establishing an organization designed to fight discrimination in industry, government and trade unions. After much planning, the NALC was officially founded in Detroit, Michigan, May 28, 29 and 30, 1960. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, veteran trade union leader and President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, was elected President at the Founding Convention. At the Second Annual Convention held in Chicago, Illinois, November 10, 11 and 12, 1961, the NALC broadened its membership base to include not only trade unionists but all Negro workers in response to the developing job crisis suffered by colored workers.

Location

The National and NYNALC offices are located at 217 West 125th Street, New York City.

NY T - 15
September 15, 1965

National Officers

Source furnished information disclosing the following individuals were elected as national officers at the NALC national convention held at the Town House Motor Inn, Yonkers, New York, on May 28-31, 1965:

RFM: b1c
100-153735

President A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Assistant to President CLEVELAND ROBINSON

[REDACTED]

Detroit, Michigan

[REDACTED]

St. Louis, Missouri

[REDACTED]

Chicago, Illinois

FRANK EVANS
Cleveland, Ohio

[REDACTED]

Tampa, Florida

[REDACTED]

New Rochelle, New York

[REDACTED]

New York, New York

CLEVELAND ROBINSON
New York, New York

[REDACTED]

New York, New York

[REDACTED]

Detroit, Michigan

[REDACTED]

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

[REDACTED]

St. Clairsville, Ohio

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RFM:blc
NY 100-153735

[REDACTED]

Youngstown, Ohio

[REDACTED]

Los Angeles, California

[REDACTED]

Chicago, Illinois

[REDACTED]

New York, New York

[REDACTED]

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

[REDACTED]

Baltimore, Maryland

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Source stated as of August 1965 there has been no change in the above-named officers.

NY T - 15
June 8, 1965
August 30, 1965

INTEREST OF THE CP IN THE NALC

"The Worker", a weekly East Coast Communist newspaper, in its edition of June 5, 1965, page 1, carried an article entitled "Negro Unionists Urge End of War in Vietnam".

The article reported that the Fifth Annual Convention of the NALC held on May 28-30, 1965 at the Westchester Town House, Yonkers, New York, had urged that war "be stopped in Vietnam and a negotiated peace be initiated" by the nations involved. Further, that "military action is no remedy for the settlement of the problem in Southeast Asia or Santo Domingo", the convention reportedly declared in its "World Peace" resolution, voted unanimously by the delegates. The

RFM: blc
NY 100-153735

resolution, it stated, was submitted by A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, President of the NALC.

According to the article, [redacted] Board member, urged the convention to call upon President JOHNSON to withdraw U.S. troops from Vietnam and begin negotiations for peace.

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The theme of the convention reportedly was "Economic Freedom and Security for the Black and White Poor".

Source advised that on June 12, 1965 a CP New York District Committee meeting was held at the Henry Hudson Hotel, New York City, for the New York District CP Committee and invitees.

Among the CP members in attendance were the following:

[redacted]

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[redacted] made a report on peace and civil rights. She spoke of the recent NALC convention held during the latter part of May 1965 and stated that Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING made a report on peace. She stated that the greatest differences between the peace groups and the civil rights groups appear to be a lack of communications between the two groups and urged that closer cooperation between these groups must be made.

NY T - 15
June 14, 1965

A meeting of the Trade Union Commission, New York District CP, was held in the Bermuda Room of the Henry Hudson Hotel, West 57th Street and 9th Avenue, New York, New York, on June 27, 1965. The commission met under the name of the "International Bowling League".

The following, among others, were observed in attendance:

RFM: blc
NY 100-153735

[REDACTED]
JIM TORMEY
[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] spoke briefly on the work of the NALC and mentioned it had done a good job. He pointed out that the main concentration of the Party would be in the industrial and mass organization work, such as the NALC, and less emphasis would be placed on the neighborhood clubs.

NY T - 21
June 29, 1965

Source confirmed that a CP, New York District, Trade Union Commission meeting was held at the Henry Hudson Hotel, New York, New York, on June 27, 1965.

The same CP members, among others, were identified in attendance and in substance source furnished the same information as reported by the above source.

NY T - 15
June 27, 1965

A CP, New York District, Board meeting was held on June 28, 1965 at the Hotel Cillingwood, 45 West 35th Street, New York City.

Among the CP members observed in attendance were:

[REDACTED]
JIM TORMEY

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one stated the number of delegates in attendance was 134, and 600 people attended the convention. She also mentioned

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NY 100-153735

that the convention speakers concentrated on the peace issue, as well as on unemployment and discrimination.

NY T - 15
June 27, 1965

Source confirmed that the New York District CP meeting was held on June 28, 1965 at the Hotel Collingwood, 45 West 35th Street, New York City.

Source identified the same individuals in attendance and reported essentially the same information as stated by the above source.

NY T - 22
July 1, 1965

NYNALC OFFICERS

On April 30, 1965, the NYNALC held its local election for officers and Executive Board members.

The following individuals were elected:



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The following three CP members were elected to the Executive Board of the NYNALC:



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As of August 1965, source stated, there had been no change in the above-mentioned officers.

NY T - 15
May 7, 1965
August 30, 1965

RFM:blc
NY 100-153735

On May 20, 1965, the NYNALC held its installation of newly elected officers at the chapter's headquarters, 217 West 125th Street, New York, New York.

NY T - 15
May 21, 1965

Source stated that at a meeting of the NYNALC held on August 25, 1965, at 217 West 125th Street, New York City, it was stated that the New York Chapter has 600 members that are delinquent in their dues and special letters would be sent to them in an attempt to have them pay their dues up-to-date.

NY T - 15
August 30, 1965



Source advised that on June 19, 1965, a meeting of the CP caucus of the NYNALC was held at 435 East 9th Street, New York City. The following CP members were in attendance:



JIM TORMEY



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 the meeting and gave a discussion on the recent NALC convention held in May 1965. She stated that the convention was the most successful since the founding convention held five years ago. She stated there were approximately 600 people in attendance, including 134 regular delegates. Many of the speakers concentrated their speeches on the peace issue, which in her mind was a great step for this organization.  pointed out that although RANDOLPH was re-elected President of the organization, he planned to step down in the near future to be succeeded by CLEVELAND ROBINSON.

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b7C

RFM:blc
NY 100-153735

Following [redacted] also made a short report on the convention which covered mainly the points previously discussed by [redacted]

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JIM TORMEY and [redacted] both of whom were in attendance at the caucus meeting, praised the caucus group and stated that they had done a very good job in the NALC.

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Both TORMEY and [redacted] emphasized that the Party should now concentrate in the building trades and use the NALC to help get members of the Negro and Puerto Rican races into the building trades and break down the labor unions' discrimination against these minority groups.

NY T - 15
June 19, 1965

On August 28, 1965, a NYNALC CP caucus meeting was held at 64 Harrison Street, Brooklyn, New York. The CP caucus members in attendance were [redacted]

[redacted]
[redacted] JIM TORMEY was also present.

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[redacted] reported on what had transpired at the August 25, 1965 NYNALC regular membership meeting, which in substance generally agreed with the information furnished above by source regarding this meeting.

JIM TORMEY spoke and stated that the Party has to concentrate on the NALC. He stated the Party would attempt to recruit new NALC members from Longshore, Brewery and other unions. He asked [redacted] to talk to [redacted] to see if she is still active or wants to remain active in the NALC.

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NY T - 15
August 30, 1965

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NY 100-153735

REGULAR MEMBERSHIP MEETING


On August 25, 1965, a regular NALC membership meeting was held at 217 West 125th Street, New York City. Among those present were the following CP members:



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It was requested that money be contributed to the NALC to help the upkeep of A. Phillip Randolph Square, formerly known as Dewey Square.

It was also stated that the NALC was concentrating on a membership drive as they are not too strong at the present time.

 made a report on a recent White House conference at which reportedly 500 people attended. Most of the people came from community and civil rights delegations and a few labor delegates.

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President JOHNSON spoke at the conference, mainly on the Los Angeles riots. He compared the acts of violence out there to that of the Ku Klux Klan and stated that this did not help the Negroes in their fight for civil rights.

 stated that the NALC was held in high respect by quite a few people; however, the organization has missed the boat because it has not built up like it should have.

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NY T - 15
August 30, 1965

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HPB: lam

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN
LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
NEW YORK AFFILIATE

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference will be abbreviated by the initials SCLC. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., is the President of SCLC which is headquartered in Atlanta, Georgia.

On July 9, 1965, STANLEY LEVISON of New York City, contacted one [redacted] and advised him that he (LEVISON) had prepared a memorandum which had been read by MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. KING had advised LEVISON that he would present the memorandum to the Executive Committee of SCLC on July 19, 1965. The memorandum recommended that SCLC raise funds by soliciting contributions from various churches.

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NY T-16
July, 1965

On July 31, 1965, STANLEY LEVISON and CLARENCE JONES of New York City, were in contact. LEVISON advised JONES that he had recently contacted [redacted] SCLC, to learn what action had been taken by SCLC in regard to [redacted] and the project he (LEVISON) had proposed. [redacted] apprised LEVISON that the Administration Committee of SCLC had adopted it and agreed to go forward with it. JONES inquired of LEVISON if that meant that [redacted] had been hired by SCLC. LEVISON answered that since the project had been approved, he would assume that [redacted] would be hired, but someone would have to talk to [redacted] about his background and other matters. LEVISON stated that someone other than [redacted] would have to talk to [redacted] since [redacted] had already reached a satisfactory conclusion about [redacted].

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NY T-16
July, 1965

On July 9, 1965, STANLEY LEVISON advised [redacted] that he (LEVISON) was leaving for Atlanta Georgia on July 11, 1965, accompanied by [redacted] whom he intended to introduce to the members of the Executive Staff of SCLC.

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NY T-16
July, 1965

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HPB:lam

On July 14, 1965, STANLEY LEVISON and CLARENCE JONES were in contact and discussed the recent trip made by LEVISON to Atlanta, Georgia. LEVISON indicated that his primary purpose going to Atlanta had been to take [redacted]. In addition, JONES inquired about the proceeds of the "Broadway Answers Selma" benefit held April 4, 1965, in New York City. He asked if MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.'s father knew of the proceeds. LEVISON stated that KING's father had asked him to tell JONES that they had received nothing. JONES commented that his files showed a check for \$8,000 was sent, and that the net amount the church would get was \$17,000. LEVISON suggested to JONES that he contact KING's father and make sure the money was not received and then contact the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith concerning the proceeds. JONES and LEVISON also discussed the forthcoming national convention of SCLC. LEVISON stated that while in Atlanta, the question of draft resolutions for the convention came up. He felt that he and JONES should work on the resolutions. He stated that the drafts have to be prepared in advance and that MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. had left it up to LEVISON to prepare. LEVISON stated there should be a resolution on Vietnam and that KING had received a statement from LINUS PAULING which generally followed the suggestions of U THANT; a cease fire and a settlement on the basis of the Geneva Conference. LEVISON stated that this statement of PAULING had been signed by every living Nobel Peace Prize winner except RALPH BUNCHE and that the SCLC convention could properly endorse this statement and dispose of the matter.

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LEVISON further suggested to JONES that a trip be made to Atlanta to discuss the draft resolutions with KING. It was felt that a staff member of SCLC should be involved in preparing the resolutions and [redacted].

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JONES inquired if the meetings of the "Research Committee" had been abandoned for the summer. LEVISON stated that he had had dinner with KING and indicated the subject of the Labor-Negro alliance should be taken up at the next Research Committee meeting, and that RALPH HELSTEIN should be present. LEVISON stated that KING agreed to this but did not indicate the meeting would take place until the fall of 1965.

NY T-16
July, 1965

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HPB: lam

This source has advised on numerous occasions that a meeting of the "Research Committee" is a meeting of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. and his top advisors.

NY T- 17
1964, 1965

The June 20, 1965, issue of "New York Times" page 61, contained an article datelined Atlanta, June 19, with the heading "Dr. King Opens Rights Drive Tuesday." The article was a report of the Summer Community Organization and Political Education (SCOPE), which is under the auspices of the SCLC. It is reported in the article that about 800 volunteers from colleges, churches, and unions will work in about 60 counties in the rural South. Most of the volunteers were to begin work after completing a six-day orientation course at Atlanta University Center. The article reports that among the orientation speakers was MIKE HARRINGTON "noted for his research and writings on poverty in America." The article made no comment on the subject matter or text of HARRINGTON's speech.

On July 31, 1965, BAYARD RUSTIN, Organizer of the March on Washington, of New York City, was in touch with [redacted]. During their conversation it was mentioned by RUSTIN that he was writing a speech for MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., which dealt with Vietnam. RUSTIN said he had a hard time convincing KING that KING should not press the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to take a position on the Vietnam situation. During the conversation between RUSTIN and [redacted] they discussed a scheduled leadership conference of Civil Rights organizations for the future. RUSTIN and [redacted] agreed to work for the success of such a conference and RUSTIN stated he would be in Washington D.C. on August 3, 1965, to meet with Vice-President HUMPHREY about the conference.

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NY T-17
July, 1965

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HPB:lam

On August 8, 1965, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., BAYARD RUSTIN, [REDACTED] had a conference. This conference was devoted to the forthcoming SCLC convention to be held in Birmingham, Alabama from August 9, 1965, to August 13, 1965. KING stated that the purpose of the conference was to decide which resolutions would be presented at the convention and which would be most newsworthy. All agreed that the resolution which dealt with the Vietnam conflict would be most newsworthy, especially since KING was being questioned continuously on this issue. The proper timing for bringing the Vietnam resolution before the convention was discussed. It was agreed that RUSTIN should be the individual to handle the questions dealing with Vietnam. In order to do this, RUSTIN would work on a statement, write a memorandum, and prepare an open letter to the President of the United States, to the Premier of the Soviet Union, and to the Heads of all countries involved in the Vietnam conflict. The letter was to be written in the name of KING, and would state that KING was writing as a Nobel Peace Prize recipient and as an advocate of non-violence. KING would urge negotiations to end the conflict. RUSTIN stated the Civil Rights movement was not ready to speak to the world on Vietnam, but KING should speak as an individual, thereby getting the impact of the Civil Rights movement behind the statement, and would eliminate other Civil Rights leaders criticizing KING for speaking out on the matter. RUSTIN stated President JOHNSON should receive a telegram followed by his letter.

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Following the above Vietnam discussion, the group discussed the Civil Rights resolution to be presented to the convention. KING stated that in regard to the Civil Rights resolution, he had talked with STANLEY LEVISON and CLARENCE JONES and requested them to prepare the resolution but to date, he had not received anything other than a general statement. KING said he would instruct WALTER FAUNTROY, Director of the Washington D.C. Office of SCLC, to use the remarks made in the general statement in preparation of the overall resolution.

The above meeting then took up the question of the SCLC financial report. KING stated the auditors were working on the report, but had not been able to conclude it because they were baffled with the problem as to how they should make known their findings. KING advised the report reflected that

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for the past 10 months SCLC received approximately \$1,500,000, and if the months of July and August, 1965, were included, the report would reflect almost \$2,000,000 for the 12 month period.

NY T-17
August, 1965

On August 10, 1965, ROBERT GILMORE, President of the New York Friends, a Quaker organization, contacted the Czechoslovakian Mission to the United Nations. GILMORE represented himself as a friend of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. He advised that he had been referred to the mission by an associate in the Friends. GILMORE stated KING was going to make a major policy speech in the South, and it was going to contain the contents of a letter on Vietnam which he would send to President JOHNSON. GILMORE stated that KING also desired to send a similar letter to President HO CHI MINH of North Vietnam, but was faced with the problem of transmitting the letter to Hanoi. A representative of the mission advised that the Cambodian Mission to the United Nations could probably transmit the letter for KING.

NY T- 18
August, 1965

On August 10, 1965, ROBERT GILMORE contacted the Cambodian Mission to the United Nations. He informed a representative of the mission that he desired to transmit a letter from MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., to President HO CHI MINH. He was told to address the letter to the Cambodian Ambassador, Mr. SAMBATH, who would forward it to the Cambodian Commercial Representative in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. Upon arrival in that city, the letter would be delivered to the Hanoi Commercial Representative.

NY T- 19
August, 1965

On August 13, 1965, [redacted] MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and STANLEY LEVISON, were in contact concerning the rioting in Los Angeles, California. [redacted] stated that KING had been contacted by a radio station in Los Angeles and urged to issue a statement appealing to the Negroes to end the rioting. KING had requested [redacted] to contact

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HPB:lam

LEVISON and ask LEVISON to prepare a statement dealing with the matter. LEVISON prepared the following statement:

"I know that you have grievances that are hard to live with - I know that any Negro can reach the end of his patience and want to strike out and strike back. But it is not courage nor militancy to strike out blindly. Our enemies have always hoped that we would lose our heads and riot against the guilty and innocent alike. This enables them to argue that we haven't decency or good sense. I speak to you as one who had to march with other Negroes against guns, clubs, dogs and whips and who won victories over cruel and barbarous sheriffs and klansmen. We won victories because we had a greater weapon - disciplined cool heads, and iron determination not to provoke into violence. Our adversaries have always known what to do when we lost our heads - it gave them a chance to beat our heads. They have never known what to do when we refused to be sucked into the trap of violence.

"Tonight the whole world is watching you. If you want all America to respect you, if you want the world to know that you are men, put down your weapons and your rocks. Get a committee together to draw up demands. If you want my help I will sit with you and plan how to improve your conditions.

"Negroes in the South were not less oppressed than you and we have run JIM CROW from thousands of places without using a rock or a bullet. We made millions of white Americans sick and ashamed of their practices and by our discipline won many to our side. You are harming yourselves, not the segregationists. Tonight in the South, the segregationist is delighted. He has made you lose your temper and for a few moments of emotional excitement and relief you are conducting yourself without reason, without a name and without a goal. You are not an army of Negro people if you fight without reason. Our people are not rioters and are not looters. Come back to our ranks where there is room for honest courage and militancy-- where real and permanent victories have been won and will be won in the right way.

"The man who cools off, who puts down his weapon and stands up with only his body is the man of courage. Don't let us down here in the South. Don't discredit brave Negroes in

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HPB:lam

jails in Johannesburg. Don't set yourself back. You can still win a great victory by halting the fighting because there is more honor and dignity in looking the other side squarely in the eye and demanding your rights than there is in struggling in blind fury. In the name of brave Negroes who have died in the South over the past ten years of bitter struggle, I appeal to you to end the hostilities so that together we can march forward for real gains for our people everywhere."

NY T-16
August, 1965

On August 14, 1965, BAYARD RUSTIN and MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., were in contact concerning the rioting in Los Angeles. KING advised RUSTIN that he was on his way to Puerto Rico to deliver a speech, and that upon arrival in Puerto Rico, he would issue a press release dealing with the situation in Los Angeles. KING wanted RUSTIN's suggestions on this matter, and RUSTIN suggested the following points should be contained in any statement made by KING to the press:

"That we deplore resorting to violence no matter who is engaged in the violence because it is wrong and socially destructive. That while we deplore violence, we also deplore the concentration of the ghetto life which leads, with the absence of jobs, bad education and slums, to the hopelessness and despair where the Negro youth, out of these conditions, feel that they have no stake in American society." RUSTIN suggested in reference to that point, that KING make mention of President JOHNSON's conference scheduled to be held in November, 1965, which will deal with the whole ghetto and family life problem, by stating that he hoped new and stirring ideas would emerge from the conference.

In continuing his suggestions, RUSTIN said that KING should point out that, "Rightly or wrongly, whether or not there was, in fact, police brutality in Los Angeles, almost every Negro in every family has, at one time or another, felt that he has been maltreated by the police; therefore, in addition to the social problems, in every city there needs to be a civilian review board. This board is to protect the policeman when he is right and to protect the citizen when the policeman is not right."

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After RUSTIN provided the above, both he and KING remarked that they had been asked to go to Los Angeles to help suppress the riots, but both were of the opinion that they would not be of much assistance since the situation deteriorated to such a point that it was a job for the National Guard.

NY T-17
August, 1965

On August 14, 1965, BAYARD RUSTIN and HARRY WACHTEL were in contact and RUSTIN stated that he had dissuaded MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., from going to Los Angeles at that time.

NY T-17
August, 1965

The "New York World Telegram and Sun" August 13, 1965, page 2, contained an article captioned "Dr. King Urges Vietnam Talks." The article noted that KING while addressing the SCLC convention in Birmingham, Alabama, had urged opposing sides in the Vietnam conflict to negotiate and end the Vietnam cycle of mistrust, violence and war.

On August 13, 1965, [redacted] and STANLEY LEVISON were in contact. [redacted] related that MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., desired LEVISON to prepare answers to 12 questions dealing with Vietnam which were put to KING by the "New York Times." [redacted] stated the "New York Times" inquiry was precipitated by KING's recent statement on Vietnam.

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LEVISON furnished [redacted] the answers to 12 questions which had been given him. The questions and the answers provided by LEVISON for KING's use are as follows:

Question: In his statement, KING noted several peace organizations had approached him regarding Vietnam. What specific peace groups are they?

Answer: Among others, National SANE, Women Strike for Peace, Student and Faculty Group in Berkeley, California.

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HPB:lam

Question: What is the text of the letter KING is sending to President JOHNSON and HO CHI MINH?

Answer: When the text is finalized, a copy will be made available.

Question: How will the letter be sent?

Answer: These details have not been planned as yet.

Question: Should the United States stay in Vietnam if South Vietnamese ask us to leave?

Answer: I believe we would have no moral or juridical basis for remaining if a sovereign government demands that we leave its territory.

Question: Can he be more specific regarding his attitude on escalation of the war?

Answer: Escalation is expressed in so many degrees and is related to escalation on the other side so that I can discuss it only in concrete terms. It is impossible to generalize.

Question: KING said he is not blaming either government for the war. Who is to blame?

Answer: There is blame on both sides because each has made responses too readily through means of violence without an earnest search for reduction of violence. I am encouraged by the restraint President JOHNSON has manifested both in action and in words and I believe the exercise of restraint will ultimately lead faster to constructive negotiation than will the flexing of the muscles of military power which the whole world knows we possess in terrifying abundance.

Question: What specific proposals would KING have to make?

Answer: I have not formulated specific proposals for ending the war and I am not sure I have competence in that area.

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HPB:lam

Question: Is King seriously thinking of going to Vietnam and under what circumstances?

Answer: I have no plans to go to Vietnam.

Question: Will King's letter also be sent to the United Nations?

Answer: There are no plans for a letter to the United Nations because it is not a combatant nor an ally of any combatant. This does not imply it has no role. Its role is substantial but different.

Question: Will KING contact United States officials regarding his plans, that is, Governors, Senators, Congressmen or Diplomats?

Answer: I have no body of plans which could be the subject of discussions. I am expressing a point of view which will be self explanatory and I sincerely hope useful for those who have the responsibility to make plans.

Question: KING states he is following a path of non-violence, but Reverend JAMES BEVEL recently made statements indicating he is more militant. Can KING reconcile this and is BEVEL speaking for the SCLC or as an individual?

Answer: The emphasis JAMES BEVEL places on peace activity in relation to civil rights activity differs from mine because I am not presently proposing any change in the direction or the character of our civil rights work. He has the right to express his analysis and has done so.

Question: Reverend BEVEL stated the civil rights movement is legislated out of business. Will KING comment on this?

Answer: I do not agree with JAMES BEVEL's view that the civil rights movement has been legislated out of existence. We still have so far to go I cannot see the end of the road even now. I see the need for a multiplicity of additional legislative

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HPB:lam

reforms which will take years of struggle fully to achieve.

NY T-16
August, 1965

On August 17, 1965, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., was in contact with BAYARD RUSTIN and persuaded RUSTIN to join him in Los Angeles, California, on August 17, 1965. After RUSTIN's contact with KING, RUSTIN was in contact with HARRY WACHTEL and informed WACHTEL of KING's plans. RUSTIN stated that at KING's request he had drawn up a five-point program for KING's use while in Los Angeles. The points enumerated by RUSTIN to WACHTEL are as follows:

1. "To minister to the thousands of Negroes innocent of any wrong doing, and who have lost homes and jobs, and to pledge the SCLC to morally and financially assist these people.
2. "Visit those Negroes in jail in an attempt to find ways in which they can help restore damage they have done, and attempt to redeem themselves.
3. "To keep and maintain sympathy and communication with the white sympathizers and work out programs to prevent future disturbances.
4. "To confer with local government leaders if they so desire.
5. "To present his own plans for immediate and long range action to clergymen and other leaders."

NY T-17
August, 1965

On August 17, 1965, BAYARD RUSTIN was in contact with [redacted]. He told her of his plans to go to California to be with KING and instructed her to contact the White House in Washington, D.C., and inform someone there that he would be late in submitting the document he was preparing for the conference of civil rights leaders scheduled for November, 1965.

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[redacted] suggested RUSTIN contact [redacted] a former Los Angeles police officer [redacted] also a former Los Angeles police officer. [redacted] believed these individuals would be of assistance to RUSTIN in California.

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NY T-17
August, 1965

On August 25, 1965, [redacted] to MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., was in contact with STANLEY LEVISON. [redacted] stated he was to contact LEVISON in behalf of KING. KING desired LEVISON's comments and to make changes in an article being prepared for the "New York Times" Sunday magazine.

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NY T-16
August, 1965

On August 25, 1965, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., contacted LEVISON concerning the above article. They agreed the article would receive nation-wide attention and KING believed the article should make comments concerning the Los Angeles riots. KING stated that he was trying to get across the fact that a crisis like the Los Angeles riots could be both a danger point as well as an opportunity. KING stated he would include in the article that it was time to seek causes and face the fact that we have not done enough to right wrongs. He called for a new national commitment on the question of civil rights. LEVISON agreed with KING and suggested to KING that such a statement could be expressed in the form KING had used before, that non-violence can make its effective contribution only when there is a creative and cooperative response on the other side from the power structure.

After discussing the above, KING told LEVISON that he believed there was a need to re-evaluate "our whole programmatic thrust" particularly in the North. KING said that this was necessary because there had been accusations that the Los Angeles riot had been caused because civil rights leaders had not carried their program to the isolated people.

NY T- 16
August, 1965

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HPB:lam

A meeting of the "Research Committee" would be held on Monday, August 30, 1965, at noon, at the office of HARRY WACHTEL, New York City.

NY T-16
August, 1965

On August 30, 1965, the following individuals were observed by SAs of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) entering 575 Madison Avenue, New York City, the building wherein HARRY WACHTEL maintains an office, from 12:55 PM to 1:38 PM:

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
BERNARD LEE
BAYARD RUSTIN
STANLEY LEVISON
JOHN LEWIS, President of SNCC
CLARENCE JONES

On August 31, 1965, STANLEY LEVISON conferred with [redacted] and advised [redacted] that he had recently talked with MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., during which time KING said that SCLC had decided to employ [redacted]. According to LEVISON, [redacted] would receive \$9,000 annually plus expenses and would be the highest paid employee on the staff of SCLC. LEVISON further told [redacted] that his function would be to raise funds for SCLC [redacted].

[redacted] LEVISON stated he desired to accompany [redacted] down to Atlanta to discuss a few things about the Negro churches he would contact. However, LEVISON stated he might not be able to make the trip since KING had already delegated so many responsibilities to him (LEVISON) that he did not know whether he would have time for the trip.

NY T-16
August, 1965.

On September 2, 1965, [redacted] instructed CLARENCE JONES to get together with STANLEY LEVISON and prepare two speeches for the use of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. She indicated that one of the speeches was to be given at a District 65 meeting of the Retail Wholesale and Department Store Union in New York City.

NY T-23
September, 1965

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On September 2, 1965, CLARENCE JONES was in contact with MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and they discussed the formation of a tax exempt corporation of the SCLC which should assist in increasing donations to the SCLC. KING suggested such a name as the SCLC, Institute of Non-Violence. KING was concerned that if a corporation is set up which is apart from SCLC, it might hinder the operation rather than help it. JONES stated he was concerned that unless the new corporation had a definite relationship to SCLC, it might become a personal platform for HARRY WACHTEL. JONES was concerned about an independent operation in which WACHTEL could act without having any responsiveness to SCLC. KING agreed with this thought.

NY T-20
September, 1965

On September 6, 1965, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and STANLEY LEVISON again discussed a forthcoming article to appear in the "New York Times Magazine." LEVISON had prepared a draft of the article for MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and wanted KING's comments. KING stated he felt the article was good but desired to change a few points.

In addition to the above, KING and LEVISON discussed a burglary of SCLC Headquarters in Atlanta. LEVISON stated that he had been unable to verify the story about the burglary and KING stated that checks amounting to \$6,000 which had been contributed to SCLC, checks in the amount of \$10,000 which were to pay SCLC bills, and a check in the amount of \$190,000 which represented SCLC funds which were being transferred to another SCLC account, were taken in the burglary. LEVISON suggested to KING that he "scotch" the rumor that one quarter of a million dollars was stolen because it could adversely affect donations to SCLC.

NY T-16
September, 1965

On September 12, 1965, a conference took place between MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., STANLEY LEVISON, HARRY WACHTEL, CLARENCE JONES, [REDACTED] and CLEVELAND ROBINSON, Secretary-Treasurer of Local 65, Retail Wholesale and Department Store Workers, American Federation of Labor - Congress of Industrial

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HPB:lam

Organizations. KING stated that he desired the advice of those present in regard to his public position on Vietnam. KING stated that since making his public statement, he has been subject to criticism, especially from Senator THOMAS DODD of Connecticut. KING stated he was convinced President JOHNSON had persuaded Senator DODD to criticize him since it was the administration's feeling that he had gone too far in urging the seating of Red China and ending the bombings in Vietnam. KING further stated that he was convinced that the press had also been stacked against him. KING indicated he was not strong enough to carry on both the civil rights struggle and the Vietnam peace struggle. He said the public was not ready to digest the trouble in Vietnam and China and, therefore, he was being criticized. He requested those present to give opinions on how to get across to the public that he is not alone in his position on Vietnam and China; on how to deal with the statement of Senator DODD; and on his plan to write letters to the heads of states involved in the Vietnam struggle. KING indicated he wanted some means whereby he could withdraw from the letter-writing campaign because he was convinced his plea for peace would be rebuffed by HO CHI MINH. He stated he must forget the peace issue and get back to the civil rights field.

After a discussion, the opinions of STANLEY LEVISON and HARRY WACHTEL were favorably received. They advised that KING should indicate he had given his opinion, had no intention of leading a peace struggle, and was now returning to the civil rights field. All of those in attendance at the meeting agreed that the criticism of Senator DODD should be answered. It was agreed that a national campaign would be started to enlist the aid of prominent government, church and civil rights leaders to answer DODD's criticism of KING.

NY T- 17
September, 1965

On September 13, 1965, another conference took place with the same individuals who conferred on September 12, 1965, with the addition of [redacted]. An agreement was reached indicating KING would not write letters to the leaders of various world powers urging negotiations for ending the war in Vietnam.

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HPB:lam

The conference discussed getting statements from persons of influence backing KING's right to speak out as he did and counteracting the criticism he had received. HARRY WACHTEL was to contact the "New York Times" requesting an editorial in support of KING. BAYARD RUSTIN was designated to see Senator PAUL DOUGLAS of Illinois requesting him to make a statement in support of KING's right to speak out on the war in Vietnam. It was decided that various publications such as "The Nation," the "Saturday Review," and the "Christian Century," would be requested to publish articles and editorials supporting KING.

NY T-17
September, 1965

On September 13, 1965, HARRY WACHTEL and BAYARD RUSTIN were in contact concerning KING's policy over Vietnam. It was agreed that the country needs a voice to speak on the subject of Vietnam, but not in the person of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. WACHTEL expressed the thought that KING's statements on the subject were wholesome, stimulating, and valuable, but that KING could not continue to make statements on foreign policy because his opponents would use it against him. WACHTEL stated that it was imperative that KING come out with some dramatic domestic issue in order to offset the bad publicity he had received. He suggested a program be instituted to defeat Governor GEORGE WALLACE of Alabama in 1966, and a program to enroll more Negroes to vote in the South.

NY T-17
September, 1965

On October 1, 1965, STANLEY LEVISON and MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., were in contact. LEVISON suggested that KING close the SCLC office at 312 West 125 Street, New York City, since it was accomplishing nothing constructive. KING indicated that closing the office might subject SCLC to criticism and LEVISON concurred with KING's reasoning.

LEVISON advised KING that he had received a wire from CAREY MC WILLIAMS, Editor of "The Nation," indicating MC WILLIAMS would write an editorial supporting SCLC's position.

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HPB:lam

Before concluding the above contact, KING advised LEVISON of what he considered a potential embarrassing situation. KING advised that RALPH ABERNATHY, SCLC Official, had gotten [redacted] to write 50 contributors about buying a car for ABERNATHY. Only one of the contributors responded. However, a car was purchased anyway at a price of \$3,000. KING stated that in order to avoid criticism to SCLC the money would have to be raised. LEVISON advised KING that he would contribute half of the \$3,000 and that HARRY WACHTEL would be approached about raising the other half.

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NY T-16
October, 1965

NY 100-153735

APPENDIX

GLOSSARY OF INDIVIDUALS

NY 100-153735

[redacted] also known as,
[redacted] and
[redacted]

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On June 15, 1947, [redacted] informed MARTHA and ALFRED STERN that she was getting married at the end of the month. She mentioned that she was marrying [redacted]. She invited the STERNS to the wedding reception.

NY T-32, December 19, 1948

An item on page 21 of the September 10, 1957 edition of "The New York Times" revealed that MARTHA DODD STERN and her husband, ALFRED K. STERN, were indicted in New York City on September 9, 1957, for espionage. The article stated that the STERNS, who had been residing in Mexico, were subpoenaed several months before by the grand jury which indicted JACK and MYRA SOBLE. They fought the subpoenas in court, failed to appear, and were cited for contempt of court and fined \$50,000. The article further stated that in July, 1957, the STERNS fled behind the Iron Curtain after renouncing their American citizenship.

"Look" magazine of November 26, 1957, contained an article by BORIS MORROS entitled, "My Ten Years as a Counter-Spy" in which the author described himself as "an FBI counterspy" who had worked in the Soviet intelligence system for ten years. In this article, BORIS MORROS related his contacts with ALFRED K. and MARTHA DODD STERN who were to assist in the establishment of a music company to serve as a cover for Soviet Agents.

ERDINE ANTONSEN

On June 7, 1963, a Kings County CP, USA Committee meeting was held at 1110 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, New York, and [redacted] was present at this meeting.

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NY T-15, June 10, 1963

NY 100-153735

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is a member of the CP, USA.

NY T-15, May 7, 1965

[REDACTED]

The source advised that based upon attendance at Workers World Party (WWP) Branch meetings, contributions made and time spent in WWP activities, it can be stated that [REDACTED] is a member of the New York Branch, WWP.

NY T-10, May 4, 1964,
November 2, 1964

[REDACTED] participated in a Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) picket demonstration on December 5, 1964, at 8 West 14th Street, New York City, protesting United States action in the Congo.

NY T-10, December 9, 1964

Characterizations of YAWF and WWP are contained in the Appendix of Organizations.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is a member of the CP, USA, and he attended a meeting of the Trade Union Commission, New York District CP, held on June 27, 1965.

NY T-21, June 29, 1965

MICHAEL DAVIDOW

MICHAEL DAVIDOW is a member of the New York District CP Board and is chairman of the District School Commission of the CP.

NY T-15, January 5, 1965

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NY 100-153735

CLIFTON DE BERRY

In the issue of "The Militant" dated June 21, 1965, it was mentioned that CLIFTON DE BERRY is the SWP candidate for Mayor of New York City.

[redacted] For information concerning [redacted] see page 98.
TOM DENNIS

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TOM DENNIS was Organizational Secretary, Michigan District CP.

NY T-11, June 17, 1963

TOM DENNIS is a CP member and attended a meeting of the National Negro Commission, CP, USA, in March, 1965.

NY T-12, April 1, 1965

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] is a CP member and attended a meeting of the National Negro Commission, CP, USA, in March, 1965.

NY T-12, April 1, 1965

[redacted]

[redacted] PLP and is a member of the PLP National Committee.

NY T-44, April 19, 1965

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NY 100-153735

GIL GREEN

As of November 16, 1964, GIL GREEN was a full time paid functionary of the CP, USA, and he is a member of the Secretariat, National Board, and National Committee of the CPUSA.

NY T-4, November 16, 1964

GUS HALL

GUS HALL is General Secretary, CP, USA.

NY T-13, September 13, 1964

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] as of August, 1965, was a member of the 11th AD Club of the CP.

NY T-8, September 1, 1965

MIKE HARRINGTON

MIKE HARRINGTON held the position of National Chairman of the Young Socialist League (YSL).

NY T-34, June, 1958

A characterization of the YSL appears in the Appendix of Organizations.

RALPH HELSTEIN

This source asked RALPH HELSTEIN, President of the United Packing House Workers of America in 1946, if he was a Communist. HELSTEIN replied to the effect that he probably could be considered a Communist in view of the nature of his beliefs. HELSTEIN did not elaborate or explain this statement.

NY T-33, 1946

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NY 100-153735

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was a member of the New York unit of the Young Socialist League (YSL).

NY T-36, June 22, 1958

Information was made available in June, 1958, which indicated that [REDACTED] was a member of the New York unit of the YSL.

NY T-34, June 22, 1958

[REDACTED] attended a Lower Manhattan Branch meeting of the Young People's Socialist League on July 8, 1960.

NY T-37, 1960

A characterization of the YSL and Young People's Socialist League is in the Appendix of Organizations.

JAMES JACKSON

JAMES JACKSON is a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA.

NY T-13, October 14, 1964

The masthead of "The Worker," September 21, 1965, lists JAMES JACKSON as Editor.

CHARLES JOHNSON

CHARLES JOHNSON, as of August, 1965, was a member of the 11th AD Club of the CP.

NY T-8, September 1, 1965

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NY 100-153735

CLARENCE JONES

The source identified a photograph of CLARENCE JONES as a person whom he knew during late 1953 or early 1954, to be a member of and in a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League (LYL).

NY T-38, February 26, 1957

The LYL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.

A CP functionary has described MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr., as a confirmed Marxist.

NY T-13, February 12, 1962

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] as of August, 1965, was a member of the 11th AD Club of the CP.

NY T-8, September 1, 1965

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is a member of the CP, USA, and attended a CP caucus of the NYNALC held on June 19, 1965.

NY T-15, June 19, 1965

[REDACTED] For information concerning [REDACTED] see page 98.

STANLEY LEVISON

STANLEY LEVISON was a secret member of the Communist Party, USA, in July, 1963. In late 1963 and early 1964, he

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NY 100-153735

criticized the CP for not being sufficiently militant in the civil rights struggle. LEVISON was described by certain CP leaders as being to the "left" of the CP in his position on civil rights. LEVISON's differences with the CP, however, are merely tactical and he continues his ideological adherences to Communism.

NY T-13, April, 1964

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT is Vice Chairman and a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA, and Chairman of the Illinois District.

NY T-3, February 15, 1965

HYMAN LUMER

HYMAN LUMER is National Educational Secretary of the CP, USA.

NY T-4, March 7, 1963

MALCOLM X (LITTLE)

MALCOLM X was the founder and President of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated. (MMI).

NY T-42, August 16, 1964

A characterization of the MMI appears in the Appendix of Organizations.

MALCOLM X was shot and killed on February 21, 1965.

NY 100-153735

[redacted]

[redacted] who uses the name [redacted] is
[redacted] the Workers World Party.

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NY T-10, May 3, 1965

[redacted]

[redacted] the Youth Against War
and Fascism and a member of the Workers World Party in New
York City.

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NY T-10, October 4, 1965

[redacted] For information concerning [redacted] see page 98.

CAREY McWILLIAMS For information concerning McWILLIAMS see page 99.

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[redacted] was elected to the National
Committee of the CP, USA, at its 17th National Convention,
held December 10-13, 1959.

NY T-14, December 13, 1959

[redacted] the Southern Region
of the CP, USA.

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NY T-12, March 25, 1965

[redacted]

As of October 30, 1953, [redacted] was a
member of the Professional Group of the CP, USA, in New
Orleans, Louisiana. Some of the meetings of this group
were held in [redacted].

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NY T-27, October 30, 1953

NY 100-153735

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON is Chairman of the New York District CP.

NY T-15, November 15, 1964

DR. LINUS C. PAULING

On December 23, 1952, according to a "United Press" dispatch datelined Washington, D.C., LOUIS F. BUDENZ, a former functionary of the CP, USA, testified before a Special House Committee in Washington, D.C. At that time he stated LINUS PAULING had been a "concealed" member of the CP, USA, who had no card or other vestige of membership, but who had made contributions to the CP, USA. He added that PAULING was a member of the Advisory Board that selected fellowship recipients for the Guggenheim Foundation.

In response to the above, PAULING, in an "Associated Press" dispatch, dated December 24, 1952, from Washington, D.C., denied the above allegation and was quoted as saying, this statement is a lie. I have never been a member of the CP, and I have sworn to this fact.

"Time", a weekly news magazine, in its issue of April 21, 1958, page 13, column 3, characterized Dr. LINUS CARL PAULING as a "long time supporter of Communist line fronts." To substantiate this characterization, "Time" quoted a House Committee on Un-American Activities report in 1951, as follows:

"Professor Pauling", it stated, "has not deviated a hairbreadth from this pattern of loyalty to the Communist cause since 1946."

NY 100-153735

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is a member of the CP, USA, and he attended a meeting of the Trade Union Commission, New York District CP, held on June 27, 1965.

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NY T-21, June 29, 1965

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is a member of the CP, USA.

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NY T-15, June 14, 1965

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was present at a Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) rally preparation meeting on February 19, 1965, at 46 West 21st Street, New York City.

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NY T-10, February 24, 1965

The source advised that based upon attendance at Workers World Party (WWP) Branch meetings, contributions made and time spent at WWP activities, it can be stated that [REDACTED] is a member of the New York Branch of WWP.

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NY T-10, May 4, 1964,
November 2, 1964

DANNY RUBEL

DANNY RUBEL is a member of the CP, USA, New York District Board.

NY T-15, August 24, 1965

NY 100-153735

BAYARD RUSTIN

In "The Saturday Evening Post", issue of July 11-18, 1964, page 76, BAYARD RUSTIN is the subject of a feature article captioned: "The Lone Wolf of Civil Rights." In it, RUSTIN is said to have come to New York in 1938, as an organizer for the Young Communist League (YCL), and as such, he had the job of recruiting students for the "Party." Furthermore, the article reports that during his first years in New York, RUSTIN gave most of his earnings to the "Party." He reportedly left the "Party" in 1941, the article states.

The YCL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "Daily Worker", February 11, 1957, page 1, column 2, reported that BAYARD RUSTIN, Executive Secretary, War Resisters League, was an observer at the 16th National Convention of the CP, USA, held in New York City, on February 9-12, 1957.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist publication until it ceased publication on January 13, 1958.

During a meeting of the National Board, CP, USA, on September 25, 1963, BENJAMIN J. DAVIS remarked that, "RUSTIN calls me constantly--openly."

NY T-1, September 25, 1963

BAYARD RUSTIN contacted BENJAMIN J. DAVIS on February 19, 20, 1964, and sought his advice as to how he could escape from a speaking engagement to which he was committed. On the latter contact, DAVIS told RUSTIN that he was working on his request and had contacted friends who had contacts with the group to which RUSTIN was to speak.

NY T-17, February, 1964

NY 100-153735

"The New York Times", August 24, 1964, page 27, column 4, reports that BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, National Secretary, CP, USA, died in New York City on the night of August 22, 1964.

[REDACTED]

On July 1, 1961, while attending a CP, USA meeting on Staten Island, New York, [REDACTED] husband, stated that [REDACTED] goes to CP, USA meetings in New York City. On October 15, 1962, while at a CP, USA meeting on Staten Island, New York, [REDACTED] stated that his wife was then a member of the CP, USA.

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NY T-28, July 3, 1961
and January 16, 1962

[REDACTED]

On October 4, 1964, [REDACTED] attended a CP, USA meeting which was held at his residence, [REDACTED] Staten Island, New York.

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NY T-28, October 5, 1964

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was a member of the Workers Party and the Independent Socialist League from about 1947 through 1959. In an application signed by [REDACTED] in November, 1960, while endeavoring to obtain access to classified information, he stated he had never been a member of any organization which advocates the violent overthrow of the Government. However, he admitted membership from 1940 to 1958 in the Workers Party and the Independent Socialist League.

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NY T-35, 1960

A characterization of the Workers Party and Independent Socialist League appear in the Appendix of Organizations.

NY 100-153735

[redacted] aka.,
[redacted]

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[redacted] attended the State Convention of the New Jersey CP, which was held at the Hotel Princeton, Lakewood, New Jersey, on July 10 and 11, 1948.

NY T-29, July 15, 1948

ROBERT G. THOMPSON

ROBERT G. THOMPSON was the District Organizer of the New York CP District.

NY T-15, November 15, 1964

ROBERT THOMPSON died Saturday, October 16, 1965.

JAMES TORMEY

JAMES TORMEY is a member of the CP, USA New York District Board, and is in charge of New York District CP Trade Union activities.

NY T-15, June 14, 1965

[redacted]

Since the spring of 1964 until August 1, 1964, [redacted] has attended meetings of either the CP Negro Commission, Illinois CP, or the CP Subcommittee on NALC work of the Negro Commission, Illinois CP, or both. To the knowledge of informants, [redacted] is not assigned to a CP club within the Illinois CP District, but due to the fact that she has been attending these meetings and that she is the wife of [redacted] [redacted] Railroad Club, Illinois CP, they consider her to be a current member of the Illinois CP.

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NY T-30, NY T-31
August, 1964

NY 100-153735

HARRY WACHTEL

In December, 1949, HARRY H. WACHTEL, 41 Broad Street, New York, New York, was on a list of individuals carried as active members of the National Lawyers Guild.

NY T-39, December, 1949

A characterization of the National Lawyers Guild is in the Appendix of Organizations.

The name HARRY WACHTEL was on a list of names, significance not known, which was maintained at the Headquarters of the Kings County CP at 26 Court Street, Brooklyn, New York.

NY T-40, March 5, 1944

Regarding HARRY WACHTEL's wife, LEONORA, her name and address were on a list of names of newly elected officers of the Bath Beach Club of the Kings County CP.

NY T-40, March 5, 1944

[redacted]
On October 4, 1964, [redacted] attended a CP, USA meeting which was held at 143 Jules Drive, Staten Island, New York.

NY T-28, October 5, 1964

[redacted]
[redacted] is a member of the New York District CP Board.

NY T-15, March 29, 1965

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NY 100-153735

HENRY WINSTON

At a meeting of the National Committee of the CP, USA, on August 12 and 13, 1961, HENRY WINSTON was elected a member of that committee, the National Executive Committee, and Vice Chairman of the Party.

NY T-4, August 12 and 13, 1961

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA, and is in charge of trade union work.

NY T-13, July 1, 1965

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NY 100-153735

[redacted]

On August 24, 1965, a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed a PLP street rally at 38th Street and 8th Avenue, New York City, at which [redacted] was introduced as [redacted] in New York City.

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[redacted]

A PLP membership bulletin published in April, 1965, listed [redacted] the PLP.

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NY T-45, April 30, 1965

[redacted]

[redacted] the Committee to Defend Resistance to Ghetto Life, which is commonly known as CERGE.

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NY T-45, March 2, 1965

A characterization of CERGE appears in the Appendix of Organizations.

NY 100-153735



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The April 13, 1964, issue of "The New York Times", page 23, contained an advertisement of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC) which listed CAREY McWILLIAMS of New York as a member of the ECLC Executive Committee.

A characterization of the ECLC appears in the Appendix of Organizations.

The Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, prepared and released a pamphlet dated November 8, 1957, entitled "Operation Abolition...The Campaign Against the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, The Government Security Program by the ECLC and its Affiliates." Pages eight and nine of this pamphlet contained information about CAREY McWILLIAMS which included the following:

Chairman, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; member of council, American Peace Crusade; member of National Council, American Peace Mobilization; vice-chairman, National Federation of Constitutional Liberties; sponsor of the Civil Rights Congress; sponsor of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade; and sponsor of the American-Slav Congress.

The above-mentioned organizations have all been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

NY 100-153735

APPENDIX

GLOSSARY OF ORGANIZATIONS

NY 100-153735

1.

APPENDIX.

COMMITTEE TO DEFEND RESISTANCE
TO GHETTO LIFE (CERGE)

A source advised on February 3, 1965, that CERGE was formed on November 1, 1964, as a front of the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), presently known as Progressive Labor Party (PLP). All personnel which comprise the committee are PLM members. CERGE was organized to raise funds for the PLM in order that the PLM will have money for bail when it becomes necessary. The people connected with CERGE hope to build it into a national organization.

A second source advised on March 5, 1965, that it is the plan of the PLM to recruit people into CERGE and use CERGE as a recruiting front for PLM members. The PLM plans to give instructions in Marxist philosophy and those who respond will be advanced from CERGE to PLM membership.

A third source advised on February 3, 1965, that CERGE receives mail through Abbott Business Service, a legitimate business operation, 147 West 42nd Street, New York, New York.

The first source advised on May 5, 1965, that CERGE maintains its office at Room 617, One Union Square, New York, New York.

NY 100-153735

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APPENDIX

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee:

"Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

- "1. 'The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is an organization with headquarters in New York, whose avowed purpose is to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities and discredit the FBI. * * * The committee finds that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, established in 1951, although representing itself as a non-Communist group, actually operates as a front for the Communist Party. It has repeatedly assisted, by means of funds and legal aid, Communists involved in Smith Act violations and similar legal proceedings. One of its chief activities has been and still is the dissemination of voluminous Communist propaganda material.'

'FRANK WILKINSON was called as a witness when he appeared in Atlanta as a representative of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee to propagandize against the Committee on Un-American Activities and to protest its hearings. In 1956 WILKINSON was identified as a Communist Party member by a former FBI undercover agent within the party. Summoned at that time to answer the allegation, his reply to all questions was, "I am answering no questions of this committee." This also became his stock reply to questions when he appeared during the Atlanta hearings. * * * WILKINSON has since been convicted of contempt of Congress and sentenced to one year in jail.'

NY 100-153735

2.

APPENDIX

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

'Disputing the non-Communist claim of the organization, the committee finds that a number of other individuals connected with the ECLC also have been identified under oath as Communists * * *'

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report for 1958, House Report 187, March 9, 1959, pp. 34 and 35.)

'To defend the cases of Communist law-breakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these fronts offer a bulwark of protection.'

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

NY 100 -153735

1.

APPENDIX

HARLEM DEFENSE COUNCIL

WILLIAM EPTON was interviewed at the Harlem Progressive Labor Movement Club, presently known as Progressive Labor Party (PLP), 336 Lenox Avenue, New York, New York, by BOB POTTS of Radio Station WBAI, New York City. This interview was programmed over Station WBAI at 7:15 PM on July 31, 1964, and EPTON related that the Harlem Defense Council (HDC) was formed during the summer of 1964 around the defense of six youngsters charged with murder. He stated that the people in the community decided to organize the HDC to protect themselves against police.

The source advised on May 17, 1965, that [redacted] [redacted] PLP at a national convention of the PLP held April 18, 1965, New York City.

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A second source advised during July, 1964, that the HDC was formed by the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM) in New York City as a front organization with its main objective to get recruits for the PLM. As the PLM is known to be a very militant type organization, the leaders of the PLM hope to use the HDC to recruit Negroes and others and gradually turn their recruits toward the aims and objectives of the PLM. The HDC was also formed by the PLM to organize Negroes on a block-by-block basis in New York City with plans to furnish the people with arms to defend themselves against police.

A third source advised on October 23, 1964, that the HDC uses the facilities of the Harlem Progressive Labor Movement Club, 336 Lenox Avenue, New York City.

A fourth source advised on March 22, 1965, that the HDC is located at 336 Lenox Avenue, New York, New York, which is the office of the PLP.

NY- 100 -153735

INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE (ISL)
FORMERLY WORKERS PARTY (WP)

The May 4, 1942, issue of "Labor Action," then an official publication of the Workers Party (WP), carried an article which reflected that the WP was formed in April, 1940, as a result of a split within the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The article stated that when the Hitler-Stalin Pact was signed and Poland invaded, the minority group within the SWP, in proclaiming the formation of the WP, condemned the pact as being imperialistic in nature and stated it would not support either imperialist camp.

The April 25, 1949, issue of "Labor Action" contained an account of the Fifth National Convention of the WP, held March 24-27, 1949, in New York City, which reflected the change of name of the organization from the WP to the Independent Socialist League (ISL) in order to emphasize the character of the group as a propaganda group for the spreading of socialist ideas and not as a full-fledged political party.

The July 14, 1958, issue of "Labor Action," an official publication of the ISL, contained an article captioned, "The ISL Program in Brief." The article indicated: "The ISL stands for socialist democracy and against the two systems of exploitation which now divide the world: capitalism and Stalinism. The ISL, as a Marxist movement, looks to the working class and its ever-present struggle as the basic progressive force in society. The ISL is organized to spread the ideas of socialism in the labor movement and among all other sections of the people. There can be no lasting and genuine democracy without socialism and there can be no socialism without democracy."

The September 22, 1958, issue of "Labor Action" contained an undated statement signed by the Political Committee of the ISL which indicated that the ISL had been dissolved. The statement urged former ISL members to join the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

NY- 100 -153735

APPENDIX

1.

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

The March 13, 1964 edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reflect that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principals." The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964 edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

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APPENDIX

2.

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

This confidential source advised on May 17, 1965, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which was also headed by MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965 while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

1.

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM

In January, 1957, a source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 7, 1965, a second source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam Number 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. MUHAMMAD claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following MUHAMMAD's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including MUHAMMAD, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised MUHAMMAD had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

On May 3, 1965, a third source advised MUHAMMAD had, early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI.

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APPENDIX

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN
UNITY, INCORPORATED (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, MALCOLM X LITTLE, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with himself as Chairman. This announcement was made at a public rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "human rights," while the initial objective is to "internationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. LITTLE condemned the non-violent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes of education, politics, culture, economics, and social reform.

On May 17, 1965, a confidential source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU are located in MMI headquarters, Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 7th Avenue, New York City.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City.

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APPENDIX

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN
UNITY, INCORPORATED (OAAU)

On April 13, 1965, a second confidential source advised that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate of Incorporation with the Department of State, State of New York, Albany, New York, and henceforth the organization's true name will be Organization of Afro-American Unity; Incorporated.

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APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY (PLP)
PROGRESSIVE LABOR MOVEMENT (PLM)

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the PLP, formerly known as the PLM, held its first national convention April 15-18, 1965, at New York City, to organize the PLM into a PLP. The PLP will have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

"The New York Times," City Edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as MILTON ROSEN, New York, President, and WILLIAM EPTON of New York and MORT SCHEER of San Francisco, Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Mr. ROSEN and Mr. SCHEER after they were expelled from the Communist party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

The PLP publishes the "Marxist-Leninist Quarterly," a theoretical magazine; "Progressive Labor," a monthly magazine; "Challenge," a New York City newspaper; and "Spark," a west coast newspaper.

The June 1, 1965, issue of "Challenge," page 6, states that, "this paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life- where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government on every level."

The source advised that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn 1, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 622, 132 Nassau Street, New York City, where PLP publications are prepared.

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APPENDIX

1.

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY-NEW YORK LOCAL

A source stated on August 25, 1960, that the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) New York Local (NYL) was founded in 1938 in New York City.

A second source stated on April 16, 1965, that the NYL was affiliated with and followed the aims and purposes of the National SWP.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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APPENDIX

1.

"THE MILITANT"

"The Militant" is a weekly newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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APPENDIX

"WORKERS WORLD"

On May 3, 1965, a confidential source advised that the "Workers World" is the official newspaper of the Workers World Party, published twice monthly, with editorial offices located at 46 West 21st Street, New York, New York.

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APPENDIX

WORKERS WORLD PARTY

On April 17, 1959, a confidential source advised that on February 12, 1958, a Socialist Workers Party (SWP) minority group under the leadership of National Committee member, [redacted] split from the SWP.

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The source stated that this minority group, referred to as the Marcyites, after many years of program and policy differences on varied issues concerning tactics and interpretation of political events, split from the SWP on the grounds that the Party was liquidating itself by departing from the Marxist precepts of LEON TROTSKY and retreating from the fight for the world socialist revolution. The final issue which ultimately forced the split was the minority's opposition to the SWP regroupment policy which involved co-operation with the Communist Party (CP) periphery-individuals characterized by the minority as petty-bourgeois.

The minority program, according to source, advocated unconditional defense of the Soviet Union and has as its goal the building of a revolutionary party with a complete proletarian orientation for the purpose of overthrowing capitalism in the United States and throughout the world.

On May 12, 1960, source advised that this minority group had chosen the name Workers World Party.

On May 3, 1965, second source advised that the Workers World Party, which maintains headquarters at 46 West 21st Street, New York, New York, supports the People's Republic of China in its ideological dispute with the Soviet Union.

The SWP and the CP have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE (YSL)

The March 1, 1954, issue of the "Young Socialist Challenge," published as page three of "Labor Action," an official publication of the Independent Socialist League (ISL), contained an article concerning the creation of the YSL, which pointed out that at a unity conference occurring February 12-14, 1954, at Labor Action Hall, New York, New York, a merger occurred between the Young People's Socialist League (YPSL) and the Socialist Youth League (SYL). The new organization was named the YSL.

A confidential informant on June 15, 1954, made available the minutes of the YSL's National Action Committee meeting of April 13, 1954, which reflected that one [redacted] [redacted] SP (Socialist Party) Youth Committee," had objected to a statement appearing in "Commerce," a New York University journal, which indicated that the YPSL merged with the SYL to form the YSL. He explained that the YPSL did not merge with anyone, that it continued to exist as the youth section of the Socialist Party. He explained that a small group of the YPSL was dropped, expelled, or suspended from that organization and joined the SYL, which he characterized as the youth group of the "Trotskyite ISL." He explained that after these few former members of the YPSL joined the SYL, the SYL then proceeded to change its name for its own purposes.

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On April 9, 1956, another confidential informant advised as follows:

The YSL has frequently worked in close sympathetic cooperation with the ISL toward similar objectives, although each major issue given mutual consideration is decided upon by these organizations individually. The YSL serves as an apprenticeship for the ISL, but ISL selection of members from YSL ranks is made on an individual and personal basis. In many instances YSL members are also members of the ISL.

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APPENDIX

YOUTH AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

A confidential source advised on March 29, 1965, that the Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), formerly known as the Anti-Fascist Youth Committee, was established by the Workers World Party (WWP) in the summer of 1962, to bring college and high school youth into the periphery of WWP activities and thereby gain recruits for the organization.

A second confidential source advised on October 23, 1964, that a flyer distributed by the YAWF describes that organization as a militant organization of young workers and worker-students for combating war and fascism.

The first source advised on March 29, 1965, that the YAWF maintains an office in Room 1214, 1123 Broadway, New York City, and publishes a magazine called "The Partisan."

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

New York, New York
October 29, 1965

Bufile 100-442529
NYfile 100-153735

Title: Communist Influence in Racial Matters

Character: Internal Security - C

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent John C. Seaton, dated and captioned as above, at New York.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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